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## A DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This book is more a small encyclopædia than a dictionary. Its purpose is to give information in a compact form on the topics that are expected in the next few years to interest the student of international affairs, amateur and professional. International agreements and the conferences that led up to them, movements such as Socialism, Fascism, Free Trade, national institutions of the nature of Ogpu and Gestapo, and shibboleths or policies—Freedom of the Air, Co-prosperity Sphere, etc.—all receive attention. The recent history of many of the regions in dispute is recorded. Statistics are also furnished of the production in different states of the principal agricultural and industrial products. In short this book is a guide to the international affairs of the world during the past generation.

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A  
DICTIONARY  
OF  
INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS

by  
A. M. HYAMSON

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IN MEMORY OF  
PHILIPP  
KILLED ON ACTIVE SERVICE, 20 AUGUST 1944  
AND  
HIS ONLY BROTHER  
DAVID  
DIED OF WOUNDS 15 FEBRUARY 1942

(2 Samuel i. 23)



## A DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Aaland Islands:** A group of islands in the Gulf of Bothnia, lying between Sweden and Finland; a department of Finland. The islands number about three hundred, but only eighty are inhabited. They were formerly Swedish, but in 1809 they were ceded to Russia and on the break-up of the Russian Empire in 1917 became a part of the Republic of Finland. On the separation from Russia in 1917 the islanders expressed preference for union with Sweden. To this Finland would not agree, but they were granted a measure of autonomy. Local dissatisfaction, supported by Sweden, led to the intervention of the League of Nations in 1921. The Commission sent by the League decided in favour of Finnish sovereignty, and recommended further that the islands should be neutralized and demilitarized, in this reaffirming the agreement of Britain, France, and Russia of 1856. To this the Finnish Government agreed. The members of the League of Nations, which did not include Russia, at the same time guaranteed the rights of Finland in the islands. With the deterioration of the international situation, the safety of the islands, which are of considerable strategic importance, became a matter of anxiety to the Government of Finland. Sweden was approached in 1938 and readily agreed to a modification of the Convention of 1921 by which a narrowly defined fortification of some of the outer islands was to be permitted. Russia was, however, not inclined to agree to this proposal in which it saw a German move. In these circumstances the League of Nations was not prepared to pursue the matter. After the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany in 1939 Russia made certain proposals to Finland. These included the raising of the ban on the fortification of the Aaland Islands, but the war between Russia and Finland that broke out shortly afterwards brought these to an end, and in October 1940 a new convention with



Russia provided for the continued demilitarization of the Islands. The desire for incorporation in Sweden, however, remained and found expression at times in resolutions adopted by the Provincial Assembly of the Islands.

The inhabitants are for the most part seamen and fishermen of Swedish race. There are several valuable harbours in the islands. Cattle are bred there.

**Abyssinia** (otherwise Ethiopia): native empire in north-east Africa, comprising the former kingdoms of Tigre, Amhara, Gojjam, and Shoa, together with neighbouring territories. The littoral which was once a part of the Empire forms part of the Italian colony of Eritrea. The Italian encroachments began with the purchase by an Italian company of the port of Assab near the southern entrance to the Red Sea. This port was acquired by the Italian Government in 1882. From that year the Italian occupation extended. In the end, in January 1887, the Abyssinians attacked Italian troops at Dogali and defeated them with very heavy losses. For a time relations were easier while the Italians consolidated their new colony of Eritrea. Finally, Abyssinia became apprehensive and war broke out in January 1895. The first engagements went in favour of Italy, but the Italians took too many risks and suffered defeat after defeat, the Italian forces being in the end annihilated at Adowa. A treaty (Adis Ababa, 26 October 1896) recognizing the absolute independence of Abyssinia followed. Relations with Britain were friendly throughout this period, and in 1906 Great Britain, France, and Italy jointly undertook to respect the integrity of Abyssinia, to refrain from intervening in its internal affairs, and to control the importation of arms and ammunition into its territories. In 1925 Britain and Italy entered into an agreement regarding their respective spheres of influence, and in particular the exclusive rights of Britain, on behalf of the Sudan and Egypt, to deal with the waters of Lake Tsana in Abyssinia were recognized. On the other hand, Britain undertook not to oppose any Italian schemes for railway development in the hinterland of the Italian colonies. Abyssinia was somewhat suspicious of this agreement, but nevertheless (2 August 1928) entered into a treaty

of friendship and arbitration with Italy to last for twenty years.

Late in the year 1934 there began a series of frontier incidents, engineered or exaggerated by the Italians. The first of these was settled amicably, but in December, in a clash well within Abyssinian territory, some 200 Abyssinians and sixty Italians were killed. This marked the opening of a war in which the Italians conquered and annexed the whole of Abyssinia (9 May 1936). (For the action of the League of Nations and the Powers, see s.v. Sanctions, and Hoare-Laval Treaty.) Abyssinia was combined with the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland in Italian East Africa under a Governor-General. The Italian annexation was gradually accepted by the states that had applied sanctions in the hope that by that means Italy would be induced to bring her aggression and her illegalities to an end. In Abyssinia a state of insecurity and occasional revolt, with savage reprisals by the Italians, followed. After the outbreak of war between Italy and Britain in 1940 the revolts increased in Abyssinia and, as British forces advanced, they joined forces with the Abyssinian patriots and eventually recovered the whole of the country. The Italian commander-in-chief with the remnant of his forces surrendered on 20 May 1941. The restoration of Abyssinian independence followed, and the Emperor, who had been living in England, returned to his throne in November 1941.

Abyssinia is for the most part undeveloped, but is believed to contain valuable minerals. Its population in 1939 was estimated at 9,450,000 and its area at 297,000 square miles. Its principal exports are hides and skins, copper and grain.

**Abyssinian Pact, The:** An agreement and military convention between the United Kingdom and Ethiopia, signed in January 1942. By the agreement the British diplomatic representative was given precedence over those of all other states, the British Government undertook to provide British subjects as advisers, judges, and police officers for the Emperor of Ethiopia, a sum of not less than 2½ million and not more than 3½ million pounds was to be given to the Emperor to enable him to re-establish his administration,

all prisoners of war were to be transferred to British control, and the passage of British civil aircraft over Ethiopian territory permitted, but no other foreign aircraft except with British permission. Under the Military Convention, so long as British forces remain in Ethiopia, a British military mission shall be stationed there. British forces shall remain in the country so long as there are Italian prisoners of war there, but shall be stationed only in certain districts, where they shall have temporary control.

**A. B. C. Nations, The:** The Argentine, Brazil, and Chile: the leading countries of South America.

**Aden:** Aden, together with Perim, Sokotra, and Karmaran islands, forms a British colony. Aden is a volcanic peninsula in Arabia at the entrance to the Red Sea whose African side is guarded by the island of Perim. Sokotra is an island off Italian Somaliland and Karmaran is in the Red Sea about 200 miles north of Perim. Behind Aden on the mainland lies the Aden Protectorate. The total area of Aden, the islands and the Protectorate, is about 112,000 square miles. The estimated population of Aden and Perim in 1939 was 65,000. Until 1937 Aden and its dependencies were administered by the Government of India, but on 1 April of that year (almost a century after the annexation of Aden in 1839) they were transferred to the Colonial Office. Aden is important as a fuelling station for vessels going east to India, the Far East and Australia, and returning, and also because it controls the entrance to the Red Sea. There is no local industry, but there is a not inconsiderable entrepôt trade.

**Afghanistan:** A kingdom in Central Asia of an estimated area of 250,000 square miles and a population of about ten millions. It lies between India and Baluchistan, Persia, and the territory of the Union of Soviet Republics. The population, although generally known as Afghans, consists of a number of nationalities, the largest of which, the Durani, calls itself the Beni Israel and claims descent from the Israelites who were sent in exile to Central Asia by Nebuchadnezzar on the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C. The Afghans are now all Moslems, for the most part

Sunnis. The Government is (since 1922) a constitutional monarchy with a parliament in two houses of which the Senate consists of life-members appointed by the King. A Grand Assembly is summoned when the occasion requires, to consider important questions of policy.

Afghanistan entered European history in 1809 when Napoleon's intrigues in Persia led to the sending of a British envoy there. Russian intrigues, a generation later, led to the appointment in 1837 of a permanent British representative at the Afghan court. Bad statesmanship led, however, to war between Britain and Afghanistan. This state of affairs, active or latent, continued for some years, in the course of which the British suffered some very serious reverses. In the following years the British frontier in India and the Russian in Central Asia were both advanced and Afghanistan became a buffer state between the two empires, each of which feared and resented the presence of the other. Persia also had unconcealed designs on Afghan territory. These events influenced Afghanistan in a British direction, but inefficient statesmanship again repelled the Afghans. War broke out again in 1878. The defeat of the Afghans was quick and easy, but the British forces found themselves entangled in the wilds of Afghanistan. A treaty was concluded in the following year. By this treaty a small extent of territory was ceded to Britain. More important was the acceptance of British protection and the entrusting of Afghanistan's foreign relations to the British. This arrangement, however, soon broke down. The people revolted against it and a new war was being waged before the end of the year. At its end, after some vicissitudes, British influence in Afghanistan was firmly established.

The British Protectorate continued until 1921, when, by the Treaty of Kabul (November 22) Britain recognized the complete independence of Afghanistan and Afghanistan accepted the *de facto* Afghan-Indian frontier which had on several occasions been advanced from India. Since that year there have been a number of palace revolutions, but in its external affairs Afghanistan has been in the main without a history.

Afghanistan is for the most part undeveloped. Copper, coal, lead, and iron are all to be found there, it is believed, in considerable quantities. Gold is mined on a small scale, but oil and silver, although they exist, are not exploited. Sheepskins and wool are exported.

**Africa, British West:** British West Africa consists of the mandated territories of the Cameroons (q.v.), Togoland (q.v.), the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. These are all crown colonies, but the British rule in the coastal regions of all four colonies is more direct than in the hinterlands which are protectorates. The Cameroons and the Togoland territories are included administratively in Nigeria and the Gold Coast respectively. There is a separate governor with Executive and Legislative Councils for each of the four territories. These councils include paramount chiefs from the protectorates and also representatives of the other chiefs. A measure of co-ordination between the governments of the four territories has been recently introduced by the establishment of a standing conference of Governors.

During the last three years of the War there was a Minister Resident in West Africa to ensure the effective co-operation in the prosecution of the war of all services, civil and military throughout the British colonies there.

British West Africa covers an area of about 500,000 square miles with a population of more than 25½ millions, of whom 20 millions are in Nigeria, the largest of the territories. The density of the population varies, being highest in parts of Nigeria. The territories are not contiguous, being separated in most cases by French territory. With the closing of the Mediterranean the route, especially by air, across Africa over British and Allied territory, became of supreme importance. The most important ports of British West Africa are Freetown in Sierra Leone, Takoradi on the Gold Coast, and Lagos in Nigeria. Lagos is the principal air base. The production of British West Africa is almost entirely agricultural and mineral. The agriculture is mainly in the hands of Africans; the mines are worked by European companies. The exports consist of cocoa, palm oil and palm kernels, ground nuts,

valuable wood, hides and skins, manganese, chrome, tungsten, coal, iron-ore, gold, diamonds, and tin-ore. Nigeria and the Gold Coast produced before the war almost half of the world supply of cocoa. Thirty-five per cent of the world production of palm oil and palm kernels came from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. Before the war Nigeria ranked fifth as a producer of tin-ore. The Gold Coast came third as a producer of manganese.

**Africa, French Equatorial:** French Equatorial Africa, otherwise the French Congo, consists of the colonies of Gabun, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari, and Chad. Their total area is 959,256 square miles, and the population in 1939 was about 3½ millions, of whom less than five thousand were Europeans. The nucleus of Gabun was first acquired by France in 1841. From that year the area of occupation was gradually extended. The resources of this great region are developed to a very slight extent. A third of it still consists of tropical forest which contains a number of species of valuable trees, including wild rubber. Palm oil is produced, and coffee, cocoa, and cotton cultivated. Cattle, camels, horses, and ostriches are bred, and copper, zinc, and lead found. Ivory is an important object of export. The administration is centralized under a Governor-General whose headquarters are at Brazzaville.

**Africa, French North:** consists of French Morocco (q.v.), Algeria, and Tunisia (q.v.). Morocco and Tunisia are protectorates; Algeria is an integral part of France. Demographically and economically, however, all three are colonies. The number of Europeans living in an Arab or Berber environment is relatively insignificant, but the native Jews of Algeria were naturalized *en bloc* in 1871, and in 1943 the French National Committee decided to give the Moslems similar advantages. The area and population (1936) of these territories were as follows:

	<i>square miles</i>	
Algeria .	847,500	7,234,684
Morocco .	162,120	6,242,706
Tunisia .	48,318	2,608,313

France has always been generous in her naturalization of Europeans in North Africa, and it is probable that in Tunisia, for instance, of the French population little more than a quarter is of French parentage. Although Algeria comprises nominally a department of France and is represented in the French Chamber, only a very small proportion of the population, and that largely European, enjoys the franchise. Moreover, the laws adopted by the French Parliament do not apply automatically to Algeria. Algeria also is under the direction and control of a Governor-General who rules for the greater part not by act of parliament, but by decree. For these reasons Algeria is in effect a colony. The French population in North Africa has always shown itself extremely reactionary.

Early in 1944 the French Committee of National Liberation passed an ordinance revising the position of Algerian Moslems and establishing a principle of equality among all the elements—Moslem, Jewish, and European—of the population of Algeria. Algerian Moslems are French subjects, but in order to obtain full civil rights, including the right to vote for the Deputies whom Algeria sends to the Chamber, they were obliged under the Third Republic to accept the French Civil Code. This condition placed them at a disadvantage as compared with Algerian Jews, for while the Mosaic law contains nothing repugnant to the French Civil Code, the Koranic law permits limited polygamy. Few Algerian Moslems were prepared to accept full rights of citizenship at the price of virtually repudiating their own religious law, and the need for some better arrangement was admitted during the centenary celebration of 1930. The proposal eventually submitted to the Chamber by the French Government conferred the vote on Moslems capable of passing educational tests. Attacked from both sides—by the Moslems because it gave them too little, and by the European colonists because it threatened an overwhelming Moslem vote—it failed to pass into law.

The new ordinance is guardedly worded in that it bestows a limited franchise and leaves the question of full rights for all Moslems over twenty-one to the determination of the future constituent assembly.

Since the formation of the Arab League (q.v.) a movement has begun to crystallize for the independence of the French North African states.

**Africa, French West:**<sup>1</sup> The West African Empire of France consists of Senegal (1687–1889), French Guinea (1843), Ivory Coast (1843), Mauretania (1893), French Sudan (1893), Dahomey (1893), Niger (1912), Togo (1919) (q.v.), and Dakar (q.v.) and dependencies. Their total extent is 1,815,768 square miles and their population is estimated at fifteen millions. Of these less than 27,000 are Europeans, of whom about 18,200 are French. These colonies are all contiguous and touch also French Morocco and Algeria in the north and French Equatorial Africa in the east. They surround Portuguese Guinea, the British colonies of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, and the independent state of Liberia. In the north-east French West Africa touches Italian Libya and in the south-east British Nigeria. Togoland is held under a mandate from the League of Nations. The principal naval and air bases are at Dakar and Abidjan on the Ivory Coast.

The whole of French West Africa is under a Governor-General with subordinate governors for the different colonies, but the seat of legislation in all important matters is Paris. Dakar is the seat of government. Senegal has one representative in the French Chamber of Deputies. The principal exports are ground nuts, cocoa, gold, palm kernels, palm oil, coffee, bananas, cabinet wood, and cotton. Since the Armistice of 1940 mining and manufactures in French West Africa have been considerably extended.

**Africa, South-West:** Mandated territory lying between Portuguese West Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa; until 1918 a German colony, now administered under a mandate entrusted to the Government of the Union of South Africa. The port of South-west Africa, Walvisch Bay, had throughout the German period been a British possession. The white population in 1936 was 80,677, of whom 9,632 spoke German. The native population was estimated at the same time to number 283,517. The exports consist of diamonds, vanadium, tin, and karakul pelts.

<sup>1</sup> The dates in brackets are those of the acquisition of the Colonies.



The rise of National Socialism in Germany had its echo in South-West Africa, despite the automatic naturalization, by agreement with the German Government, as South African British citizens of the German colonists there. Under inspiration from Germany a movement for the restoration of the colony to Germany grew up among its German-speaking inhabitants. The response of the remainder of the population was to ask for incorporation in the Union of South Africa as a fifth province and the Legislative Assembly, by twelve votes to six, formally petitioned (1934) the Union Government to that end. The Union Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the proposal. The Commission agreed that the constitutional government in the Protectorate had broken down as a consequence of Nazi activities there, but the members differed regarding what should take its place, each of the three commissioners supporting a different solution. The solution, if only temporary, of the Union Government was to give the Administrator exceptional powers. The South African Government gave notice at the San Francisco Conference (q.v.) that it intended at the first opportunity to claim that the Mandate or Trusteeship over South-West Africa should be terminated and the territory incorporated in the Union of South Africa.

**African Protectorates:** Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, territories contiguous to those of the Union of South Africa.

Basutoland became a British Protectorate in 1868 at the request of its paramount chief. For thirteen years it was a part of Cape Colony, but in 1884 it came again under the direct control of the British Government. The population in 1936 numbered 562,411, of whom 1,434 were Europeans, almost all of them Government officials or missionaries. The legislative power rests with the High Commissioner, but there is also a native Council which discusses domestic affairs and proposals. Wool, mohair, wheat, and cattle are exported to the Union of South Africa. The whole of Basutoland is a native reserve.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate was declared in 1885 to be within the British sphere. In 1895 British Bechuanaland

was annexed by Cape Colony, and in that year the administration of the Protectorate was organized and placed under a Resident Commissioner. The local jurisdiction of the chiefs, however, continued. Cattle, gold, and silver are produced in Bechuanaland, but not in large quantities. Its population is about 280,000.

After several requests by the paramount chief of the Swazis for a British Protectorate, he turned to the Government of the Transvaal in 1889. A joint Anglo-Transvaal control was then introduced, in 1890. Difficulties arose, however, and the Protectorate was entrusted to the South African Republic (the Transvaal) in 1894. After the termination of the Anglo-Boer War, Swaziland passed under British protection. For a few years the territory was administered by the Governor of the Colony of Transvaal, but in December 1906 it was transferred to the control of the High Commissioner for South Africa. Its population in 1936 numbered 156,715, of whom 2,740 were Europeans. The country is said to be rich in minerals which have, however, not been developed.

The Government of the Union of South Africa has repeatedly pressed for the transfer to it of responsibility for the Protectorates, but the interests of the native population have, in the eyes of the British Government, hitherto stood in the way of the granting of this measure. The native population on their part showed clearly that they preferred to remain under Imperial control. The subject was, however, left open, but co-operation between the two Governments in the matter was promised and a joint advisory conference to this end met in 1938.

**Air Transport, International:** An international conference was held in Chicago in November 1944 to draw up regulations governing international civil aviation. The regulation of this traffic had hitherto been governed by the Paris Convention of 1919 and that of Havana of 1928. Complete agreement between the views put forward by Britain, on the one hand, and the United States on the other, was found to be impossible, but a limited agreement was, after much discussion, reached. This agreement which was unanimous on the part of more than fifty nations, which,

however, did not include Soviet Russia, was on the two 'freedoms', freedom of innocent passage across any state and freedom to land anywhere for servicing or other non-commercial purpose. The main difference which could not be resolved centred round the proposed freedom of foreign undertakings to carry passengers from one centre to another within the territory of another Power. The United States wanted this right, but their demands were opposed by Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand. The other 'freedom', the right to carry traffic between the country of origin and any place in the world, was not contested, but depended largely on the 'freedom' in dispute.

At the end of 1945, a dispute broke out between the Pan-American Air Lines, the most powerful of the United States air transport companies, and the British Government. The former, anxious to secure a practical monopoly of the air traffic between North America and Great Britain, introduced fares that were quite uneconomic. Under an agreement made in 1937 between this company and Imperial Airways, the principal British Company, each party was entitled only to fly two services a week to the other's territory. The agreement had fallen into desuetude and the number of flights was in practice unlimited. The attempt, however, to undercut the British services was promptly countered by the strict imposition of the conditions laid down in the agreement and it was made clear that until the American Company reintroduced charges that would permit of a reasonable profit its flights to England or Scotland would be limited to two a week, as imposed by the agreement. The American company quickly gave way and resumed the fares previously imposed.

At the beginning of 1946 a conference between British and United States representatives was held in the Bermudas, to attempt to reconcile the two divergent points of view. This conference agreed on a compromise, and arranged for a limited co-operation between the British and American interests. This co-operation is to include the fixing of fares. The question of the 'freedom' to carry passengers from one centre to another outside of the transport undertaking's

home country was left for further consideration in a spirit of mutual accommodation.

**Albania:** A state on the eastern shore of the southern Adriatic, north of Greece and west and south of Yugoslavia, until 1912 a part of the Ottoman Empire. The independence of Albania was agreed to by the Great Powers at a conference in London on 17 December 1912, and a German prince was appointed its ruler. The outbreak of war in August 1914, a few months after his accession, brought his reign to an end. By one of the secret treaties between the Allies, Albania was to have been partitioned, but Italy repudiated this decision and the independence of Albania was again proclaimed on 3 June 1917. A period of unsettlement, encouraged by both Italian and Yugoslav intrigues, followed. This was little modified by the proclamation of a republic in January 1925. Before that there had been another attempt at partition by the Allies, on this occasion opposed by the U.S.A. The admission of Albania to membership of the League of Nations in December 1920, it was thought, brought all threats to its integrity and independence to an end. On 1 September 1928 the constitution was again changed and a monarchy introduced, the first king being Ahmed Beg Zogu, the President of the Republic. Ten months earlier Italy and Albania had signed a defensive alliance, relations between the two states having continually grown closer during the previous two years. Italy at the same time gained an economic control of the country, but the rivalry with Yugoslavia over the country continued. On 7 April 1939 Italian troops invaded Albania without warning and without excuse. The King, Queen, and their newly born infant, escaped, and a week later the Italian Government proclaimed the King of Italy King also of Albania, and the Fascist system of government installed in the country. After the outbreak of war in 1939 the declared policy of Great Britain with regard to Albania was the restoration of her independence, her frontiers, however, to be subject to the future settlement.

After the Italian attack on Greece and declaration of war against the Allies, the people of Albania, with an insignificant

number of exceptions, showed themselves unanimously hostile to the Italians. Guerrilla movements sprang into existence. Of these there were three main organizations. The National Liberation Movement was the most active. It was predominantly Left Wing, and its operations were mostly confined to southern Albania. In the centre there was the Legality Movement of supporters of King Zog. The third organization was the Balli Kombetar or National Front, a more loosely knit body of Albanian Nationalists. All these groups held strong political opinions which sometimes led to clashes between them.

In the period of unsettlement that followed the end of the War in 1945, the Albanians were somewhat alarmed by claims to a portion of their southern territory made by influential circles in Greece. Southern Albania was termed by these Northern Epirus, Epirus being a district in Northern Greece, and this was claimed as Greek territory, having been, it was said, on repeated occasions allotted to Greece by the Powers victorious in both wars. These Powers did not appear to accept these claims, and on 10 November 1945, Great Britain, the United States, and Russia announced their recognition of the Provisional Government—a Communist one—of Albania, the question of boundaries being reserved by Britain and the United States. Greece protested against this decision. Shortly afterwards Albania was proclaimed a republic.

The area of the country is 10,629 square miles and its population in 1939 was about 1,764,000, of whom two-thirds were Moslems and the remainder Christians (two-thirds Orthodox Church, one-third Roman Catholic). The land is, to a large extent, uncultivated, and the principal exports are wool, hides and furs, cheese, cattle, and eggs.

**Alexandretta, Sanjak of:** see Hatay.

**Algeria:** see Africa, French North.

**Alsace-Lorraine:** (Elsass-Lothringen): A district of France on the north-eastern frontier, which was recovered from Germany at the conclusion of the war of 1914–18, after having been a German Imperial Territory since 1871 (it was annexed on the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War).

For the previous two centuries the district had been French territory, having been acquired on the battlefield by Louis XIV. Still earlier, however, it had been a territory of the Empire. After the collapse of France in 1940 Germany annexed the French departments that formerly comprised Alsace-Lorraine and made them an integral part of the German Reich. During the previous twenty years the history of Alsace-Lorraine had not been without incident. The governmental system of Germany, under which the population had grown up, was very different from the over-centralized one of France. Moreover, France had become secularized since the loss of the territory, whereas under the German constitution many of the old religious privileges of the earlier French period had been retained. Sentiment in Alsace-Lorraine was almost without exception pro-French, but there was a longing for some measure of autonomy such as that enjoyed under the Germans. In these circumstances there arose the party of the Autonomists, which, first asking for autonomy within the framework of France, later, in the case of its extreme members, tended towards separation. In people and language there is a considerable difference between Alsace and Lorraine. The latter is French, both in race and language. The former is more German, the language of the people in particular being a German dialect.

**Aluminium:** The world production of aluminium in 1940 was 802,000 tons, of which 240,000 were produced in Germany and Austria, 187,100 in the U.S.A., and 110,000 in Canada. In 1943, 920,000 were produced in the U.S.A. and in Canada 503,000. See also Bauxite.

**American Debt:** see Debts, Inter-Allied.

**American Loan, The:** The end of the War in 1945 left Britain in a difficult financial position. In the course of the War practically the whole of her foreign investments had been realized and their proceeds as well as her reserves of gold and foreign currency spent. Her export trade on which the standard of living of the British people so largely depends had had to give way to military requirements and had sunk to a lower level than for very many years. In addition Britain

owed an immense debt, foreign as well as internal. After the first two years of the war, Britain's foreign expenditure had been largely financed under the Lend-Lease (q.v.) arrangement with the U.S.A. by which the latter supplied the needs of Britain, leaving terms of settlement to be made on the conclusion of the war. This arrangement terminated suddenly with the war, and there was no longer any means of providing for essential imports, including the raw materials with which alone British industry and the suspended export trade could be built up again. The war was estimated to have cost Britain £10,700,000,000 in foreign capital and resources, without counting home capital and production. Over six-sevenths of this enormous sum had been spent, but £1,500,000,000 remained as the estimated cost of putting Britain on her feet again and of enabling her to resume her former position in the foreign markets. Of this total of almost £11,000,000,000, £5,000,000,000 were represented by Lend-Lease, £3,300,000,000 by the accumulation of a new sterling debt and £1,300,000,000 by the realization of foreign investments, gold and dollar reserves.

To deal with the outstanding balance under Lend-Lease, and to meet the need for foreign currency during the immediate post-war years, a new British-American agreement was necessary. The negotiations that eventuated in such an agreement proved very difficult, and more than once it seemed that the willingness of the United States Government, hampered by doubts of an equal willingness on the part of Congress, fell far short of satisfaction of British needs. There was much bargaining not only over the size and financial conditions of the proposed loan, but also over the more or less extraneous conditions on which the United States were prepared to make the loan.

An agreement was at length signed on 6 December 1945. Under this Agreement a loan of 4,400,000,000 dollars (£1,100,000,000) was placed at the disposal of Britain, of which £937,500,000 was to be new money and £162,500,000 in payment of all outstanding claims under Lend-Lease. The loan is to be repaid by the end of the year 2001 and interest at the rate of two per cent is to be paid on it, but

neither accrual of interest nor repayment of capital is to commence until 1952.

As the annual debt repayments after 1951 will be greater than the total value of British pre-war exports to the United States, an escape clause was agreed on. Under this, the interest, but not the principal, may be waived in any one year where it is proved that the British balance of payments has not yielded sufficient foreign exchange. The Bretton Woods Fund is to be the arbiter, and British statistics will be accepted.

Other conditions attached to the agreement include the acceptance by Britain of the Bretton Woods Agreement (q.v.), with, however, the transitional period reduced from five years to one. It is laid down that Britain shall take every possible step to induce her other creditors to reduce the amount of their sterling balances, and that, within a year, all special exchange arrangements for the sterling area and the more substantial exchange controls in general are to be dropped. A world trade conference is to be held at which an effort is to be made to bring down international trade barriers, including both import tariffs and special arrangements such as Imperial preference duties.

The interest on the sterling debts of Britain, accumulated during the war, and their amortization even after their contemplated reduction, were estimated to amount to about seventy millions a year which, together with the annual payment due to the United States under the agreement, would exceed a hundred millions a year, proportionately the equivalent of the reparations imposed on Germany under the Dawes Plan (q.v.) which she found it out of her power to pay.

As soon as an agreement had been reached between the British and American negotiators in December, it was submitted to both Houses of Parliament for approval. This was obtained by large majorities, but there was also a large number of abstentions. No speaker can be said to have given the proposals his whole-hearted approval. The most that their advocates could say was that there was no alternative to them, and they had therefore to be accepted, and it was on this keynote that the divisions were taken. Congress approved the loan after long and bitter debate in July 1946.



**American Naval and Air Bases:** The United States, early in the war and before she herself was involved in it, obtained leases of territory for naval and air purposes in a number of British colonies (see West Indies, American Naval Stations in). After the declaration of war against her by Japan, the movement for the acquisition of further bases for permanent occupation was strengthened and President Truman, speaking on his return from the Potsdam Conference (q.v.), announced that while the United States 'sought no territory or selfish advantage from the war it would, for its own security, insist on American control of bases necessary for American security'. It is generally understood that the American claims were for the most part in respect of Japanese and Japanese mandatory islands in the Northern Pacific, but the British islands of Christmas, Funafiti, and Canton were also claimed.

The proposed bases in the Pacific area stated by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy at Washington, on 5 September 1945, are Kodiak and Adak in the Aleutians; Hawaii; Balbao in the Canal zone; Guam, Saipan, Tinian (listed as one unit—the Marianas); the Bonins and the Volcano Islands (another unit); the Ryukyus; the Manus; the Admiralty Islands; and the Philippines. In the Atlantic there would be Bermuda, Roosevelt Roads, and San Juan (Porto Rico); Argentia (Newfoundland); Guantanamo (Cuba); and Cocosola (Canal zone).

The principal bases would be supported by auxiliary bases at other key Pacific points for use as aviation stations and fleet anchorages. The auxiliary bases would include Truk, Eniwetok, and Kwajalein. The United States Government also claimed an air base or bases in Iceland.

**Amritsar:** In the course of the political unrest in India that followed the conclusion of the war in 1918, disturbances occurred at Amritsar in the Punjaub, among other places. On the threat of rioting there on 10 April, General R. E. Dyer called out his troops and, without adequate warning, fired on the unarmed mob, causing over 300 deaths and 1,200 other casualties. This action was investigated by a Commission of Inquiry. His conduct was censured and he was

required to resign. The echoes of Amritsar for long had their influence on Indian public life and were used with effect in the campaign for Indian independence.

**Anglo-Russian Agreement:** An agreement entered into by the British and Soviet Governments on 12 July 1941 for joint action in the war against Germany. The two Governments undertook to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the war against 'Hitlerite Germany' and not to make peace except by mutual agreement. On 26 May 1942 a further Treaty of Alliance was signed. This not only reaffirmed the earlier agreement, but bound the two states, when peace was re-established, to work together for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe. In doing so they will take into account the interests of the United Nations, and they undertook to be guided by the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandizement for themselves, and of not interfering in the internal affairs of other states. The two Governments declared their desire 'to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period'. They further agreed that should one of them during the post-war period become involved in hostilities with Germany or any of her European associates in consequence of an attack by one of them, the two Governments would at once give each other 'all the military and other support and assistance' in their power.

**Anglo-Turkish Alliance, The:** On 12 May 1939 a joint declaration was made by the British and Turkish Governments to the effect that in the event of an act of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean area the two Governments would co-operate effectively and lend each other all the aid and assistance in their power. A similar declaration was made by the French and Turkish Governments in the following month. A tripartite treaty was signed at Ankara on 19 October. This treaty confirmed the undertakings given in the preceding declarations and further provided for consultation and, at the worst a benevolent, neutrality on the part of Turkey in the event of either of the other Powers being involved in war with another European Power. In the event

of the contracting Powers being engaged in war as a consequence of the treaty they undertook not to conclude an armistice except by common agreement. By a protocol added to the treaty it was agreed that Turkey would not thereby be compelled to take up arms against the U.S.S.R. with which she had separate treaty relations.

Despite the terms of this treaty, Turkey maintained a state of neutrality, with little if any preference to either side, until the summer of 1944. She contracted agreements with both sides, the result of which seemed in brief to be to supply Germany with much material necessary to her for the conduct of the war and to accept from Great Britain war material and other commodities on the condition that she would not still further increase her supplies to Germany. Great Britain, with the support of the United States of America, made great efforts to induce Turkey to be more actively friendly to the United Nations—the British Prime Minister even going to the length of visiting Turkey for the purpose—but these efforts had no obvious results. In the end the British and Americans stopped all supplies to Turkey and this quickly brought a change of attitude. In April 1944, on the demand of the Allied Powers, the export of chrome to Germany was stopped. Still, the earlier attitude of equal favour to both sides was not clearly abandoned. In June the British had to protest against the passage through the Dardanelles of small German warships. The dismissal of the Turkish Foreign Minister followed, and the relations between Britain and Turkey then rapidly improved and the culmination was reached on 2 August when all diplomatic and economic relations between Turkey and Germany were broken off. In February 1945, when Germany was obviously on the point of collapse, Turkey declared war.

**Angola:** see Portuguese Colonies.

**Anschluss, The:** A movement for union between Austria and Germany. Although such a movement had existed for a number of years before 1914, it had little force behind it until the Treaty of St. Germain (1920) by which Austria was reduced to little more than the great city of Vienna and a not very large district surrounding it, with enemies watching

it from every side. So reduced and weakened as to be unable to stand alone, it seemed that there was no alternative for Austria but to seek incorporation in some larger neighbouring state. Unity in language and to some extent in history pointed to Germany as that state, and in the German constitution adopted in August 1919, there was provision for admission to the German Empire of Austria. To this the Allied Powers took the strongest exception, quoting Article 80 of the Treaty of Peace under which Germany undertook to respect the independence of Austria and agreed that that independence was inalienable 'except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations' and threatened to invade Germany. For some fifteen years after the War of 1914-18 the movement for union with Germany was strong and increasing. Only with the advent of National Socialism, with which the greater part of the population of Austria was out of sympathy and with the encouragement and promised support of Italy, did the movement for an *Anschluss* with Germany diminish.

The movement towards the consummation of an Anschluss took a definite move forward in 1931 by the negotiation of a customs union, or, more properly, close customs co-operation to which other states might accede, between the two states. To this very strong objection was taken by France and her allies, on the ground that it was contrary to the Treaty of St. Germain and the Geneva protocols of 24 October 1922 under which Austria had undertaken not to surrender her political or economic independence. On the suggestion of the British Foreign Secretary the matter was referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which decided by eight votes to seven, the majority consisting solely of French and Allied judges, against the proposal which was accordingly withdrawn. With the seizure of Austria by Germany in 1938 the Anschluss question was solved.

**Anti-Comintern Pact:** An agreement signed by Germany and Japan on 25 November 1936, denouncing the Communist International or Comintern (q.v.) and agreeing to co-operate in taking preventive measures against it. Other states 'whose

internal peace is threatened by the subversive activities of the Communist International' were invited to sign the agreement. Italy accepted this invitation in November 1937, Hungary, with some reluctance, in 1939, Spain, as soon as General Franco had gained control, in the same year, and Denmark and the Japan-controlled Chinese Government at Nanking in 1941.

**Antimony:** The world production of antimony in 1938 was 35,600 tons. Of this production 9,437 came from Bolivia, 8,100 from China, 8,034 from Mexico, and 3,670 from Yugoslavia. These figures relate to the metal content of ore mined. Of antimony obtained from scrap, the United States output in 1940 was 10,400 tons.

**Anti-Semitism:** Anti-Jewish prejudice which shows itself often socially, but also in the form of discriminatory legislation and at times in that of violence. Always among the uneducated a blind prejudice against that which is different, the nonconformist, it was also during the greater part of the Christian era inspired by religious, or more properly theological, differences. Since the Napoleonic era it has been largely economic, and still more recently political. As a political movement it is, however, completely artificial, being used almost cynically by politicians to further their aims by playing on the ignorance, and the prejudices born of it, of the mob. Religious anti-Semitism is practically contemporary with the Christian era. It grew out of the mutual hostility of Christians and Jews, continually stoked by the Church and fuelled with embellishments of the New Testament story of the Crucifixion. There was a parallel Jewish-Moslem hostility centuries later, and this resulted in a sort of Moslem religious anti-Semitism, but it was never so intense nor so cruel as the Christian variety. Away from the centres of ignorance in eastern and southern Europe and in Asia, religious anti-Semitism is now practically dead. In intensity it was greatest in modern times in Tsarist Russia.

Economic anti-Semitism is largely the child of failure in commercial or even professional competition between non-Jew and Jew. In some cases it is rooted in jealousy of the success of Jewish individuals, more often intolerance of

Jewish competitors, who, being kept out of certain occupations, for instance agriculture, during long periods of time, have been forced to crowd into others. A prominent instance of this class of anti-Semitism can be traced to the failure of the *Union Generale*, a financial organization in which many of the leading non-Jewish families of France were interested, which was founded in 1882 by Paul Bontoux, a financial speculator, whose previous undertakings had also proved failures. Many families, of all classes, were ruined or suffered severely in this venture. It was easy to lead the unthinking to accept the view that the established financial houses, especially the Jewish ones among them, were responsible for the failure. In Poland modern economic anti-Semitism arose from a different cause. There, as in England in the Middle Ages, there was no middle class in the non-Jewish population. Generally speaking, all were rich or poor, nobles or serfs, gentlemen or labourers. The vacuum was to some extent filled by Jews. The time came in both cases, however, when the non-Jewish elements decided to take their places also in commerce, medicine, etc. They found Jews there in an abnormal proportion and the struggle to dislodge them developed a form of anti-Semitism. In Germany, similarly, the exclusion of Jews from many callings forced an abnormal number into others, e.g. medicine, the law, finance. For some callings, for instance, the stage and journalism, they seem to have a special aptitude. The result was much the same as in Poland; the non-Jewish lawyer, feeling the pinch of Jewish competition, found that the easiest means of advancement was to eliminate if he could his Jewish competitor.

Political anti-Semitism, whose home is in Germany, although it had previously gained a considerable foothold in France, is an admittedly artificial invention. It was used in the first instance to secure political power, by stirring up prejudice against the Jews and then putting oneself forward as the saviour of the country from them. A wide field of economic suffering furnished a ready soil for this agitation. After a position of authority had been secured by this means it was used to further the aggressive designs against other

countries. Political anti-Semitism is always found in close co-operation with all the reactionary parties in the state. Although anti-Semitism is not inherent in the Fascist doctrine or philosophy, Fascism has always had recourse to anti-Semitism to further its ends at home and abroad. Among the National Socialists political anti-Semitism was carried to the farthest extremes; massacre, torture, robbery, destruction, and insults being used without hesitation to implement it. Anti-Semitism has been carried to great lengths—with widespread suffering—in previous centuries, in Spain and Portugal in the fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen hundreds, in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, in Rumania in the present day, but nowhere has it been so intense, so tireless, so ruthless, so inhuman, so demoniac as in National Socialist Germany.

See also Aryan Decrees; Non-Aryan; Nuremberg Laws.

**Arab League, The:** Until 1923 all the Arab countries of Asia, with the exception of Aden and a few small British Protectorates, were parts of the Ottoman Empire and thereby in close political relationship with one another. After the Treaty of Lausanne this group of states was broken up, part being placed under British mandate, part under French, and part made independent. Even the states under the separate mandates were kept apart from one another and their mutual relations in some instances were those of foreign countries. This artificial separation never accorded with the wishes of the Arabs themselves. Those of Palestine and Syria considered themselves one people, little removed from those of Transjordan and the Lebanon, and close akin to the Arabs of Iraq. A movement for the political emancipation of the Arabs had arisen in the middle of the nineteenth century with its centre in Damascus and Beirut, and with subsidiary centres in Palestine and Iraq. This movement had to some extent succeeded by the creation of the several Arab states, but most of these were still subject to European control. Saudi-Arabia was independent, and Iraq (q.v.), after a revolt, attained a similar status. Syria (q.v.), in similar circumstances, and the Lebanon (q.v.) were promised a like independence, but this promise was not kept, and it was attained

in a sense only after the release of these states from the control of Vichy France. Transjordan (q.v.) was very closely under British control and Palestine (q.v.) even more so. The Pan-Arab movement strove towards the liberation of all these peoples and even further, the Arab-speaking ones of North Africa, of a return to the inter-relationship of these Arab states in the great days of the Arab Empire.

More real is the movement for the creation of a larger Arab or West Asiatic state of a federal character, with Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and the Lebanon, and perhaps Iraq, as constituents. This was the ambition of Arab nationalists before the World War of 1914, and since the end of that war it has been revived. In 1935 Ibn Saud of Saudi-Arabia, the outstanding Arab ruler, was being pressed by Syrian Nationalists to accept the leadership of all the Arab peoples, and about the same time a conspiracy was discovered in Beirut for the formation of an independent and united Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. The periodic disturbances in Palestine were very effective in bringing the Arabs of different countries together, and in 1938, in the midst of the most serious of these outbreaks, a very influential Pan-Arab Congress was held in Cairo.

An alternative to the movement for Arab Federation is that for Arab Union which has to some extent superseded the former. This movement is for a looser combination of the Arab states, embracing all of them, at the widest from Morocco to Iraq and from Syria to the Yemen, on cultural, to a less extent economic, but hardly at all political lines. This movement was crystallized by an Iraqi statesman in August 1945, in eight points that he put forward. These are (1) Unification of educational programmes, (2) Unification of laws, both criminal and civil, (3) Unification of army laws and organization, (4) Abolition of internal customs barriers, (5) Abolition of restrictions on travel, (6) Unification of foreign policy and representation, (7) Unification of currency, and (8) Establishment of a common symbol to be added to the national flags of the several countries. In September 1944 the Prime Ministers of Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, and Transjordan and representatives of the Governments of



Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen and of the Arabs of Palestine, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Egypt, met at Alexandria to consider means of closer co-operation and to prepare the way for a wider congress. They found a considerable measure of agreement and signed a protocol which included an article for the formation of a League of Arab states, 'to execute agreements reached between member states; to organize periodical meetings to reaffirm their relations and co-ordinate their political programmes, with a view to effecting co-operation between them, so as to safeguard their independence and sovereignty against any aggression; and to concern itself with the general interests of the Arab countries'.

The Arab League was formally constituted on 22 March 1945, the original members being Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon, the Yemen and Iraq. An annexe to the Pact dealt with the case of Palestine. It recorded that as one of the Arab states, Palestine was entitled to participate, but it could not at present do so formally. The representatives of the other states therefore appointed an Arab representative for Palestine pending the securing of independence. The Pact is open to the adhesion of other Arab states as they become independent. Its aims are the strengthening of friendship between its members, the co-ordination of their political action and the safeguarding of their independence.

**Arabia, Oil in:** see Oil, Middle East.

**Argentina:** Argentina, the sympathies of whose Government were obviously with the Fascist Powers, was in consequence out of favour with those of Great Britain and the United States. The Argentine was being used as a centre of German espionage to the disadvantage of the Allied Powers, and at the beginning of 1944 under pressure by Great Britain the Argentine Government broke off relations with Germany and Japan. One consequence was the deposition of the President of Argentina and his substitution by a nominee of the Pro-Fascist military element which formed its own government. The Powers, with the exception of the neighbouring governments of Bolivia, Paraguay and Chile, all

refused recognition to the new government. Argentina was uneasy under this ostracism and took the first step to end it, in October, with a proposal to the Pan-American Union (q.v.) for a conference of the foreign ministers of the American Republics. Such a conference was not held, and the Government of Argentina was not invited to the Pan-American Conference in Mexico City at which the Act of Chapultepec (q.v.) was drawn up. But the other governments represented at this Conference were conciliatory. After a short delay Argentina adhered to this Act and declared war on Germany and Japan. Recognition by the United States, Great Britain and the other Allies with the noteworthy exception of Soviet Russia, followed, and at the instance of the Powers, but against the wishes of Russia, Argentina was invited to the San Francisco Conference (q.v.).

Later, however, in October 1945, the United States Government took exception to the somewhat tortuous proceedings of the Government of Argentina, and its spokesman stated bluntly that it did not feel that it could 'properly negotiate or sign with the present Argentine régime a treaty of military assistance'.

**Arica and Tacna:** see Tacna-Arica Dispute.

**Armenia:** A region in northern Asia Minor, partly in the territories of the Union of Soviet Republics, partly in Turkey, the kernel of the ancient Armenian Empire. Although the Armenian state was destroyed centuries ago, the Armenian people has persisted largely in a diaspora. The last remnant of the Armenian state passed to Turkey in 1514. In 1828 Russia began to obtain a footing and the acquisitions of that year were enlarged by those that followed the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8. During the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the Armenians were always a source of trouble to the Turks, who knew of no other means of dealing with them than that of massacre. There were frequent outbreaks, instigated, it is generally believed, from beyond the Russian frontier, and many attacks on them, often instigated by the Turkish authorities, by their neighbours, the Kurds. Revolutionary societies among the Armenians were extremely active throughout this period.

The situation was obviously drifting, and it was equally obvious that the most unfortunate developments were possible. Britain endeavoured to intervene, but met with the opposition of Russia for the furtherance of whose policy an improvement was not desirable and that of her ally France. The Armenian question was temporarily solved by the Young Turk Revolution (1908), under which the position of the Armenians improved noticeably. During the War of 1914-18, however, their position again deteriorated; the sympathies of the Armenians were for the most part with Russia and the Turks replied with massacre. Russia, on her invasion of Asia Minor, proclaimed 'the liberation of Armenia from the Turkish yoke', but at the same time prevented the Armenian exiles from returning to their homes in order that their lands might be settled by Russians. Britain and France were somewhat more altruistic. Their Governments proclaimed on several occasions during the war their determination to secure the liberation of the Armenian people, and at its conclusion there was an intention to create an Armenian state. The abortive Treaty of Sévres which was signed by representatives of the Armenian nation recognized the *de jure* independence of the Republic of Armenia. None of the Allied Powers, however, would accept a mandate for it. Russian Armenia, which was evacuated for a time after the Revolution by the Russian forces, was to have been included in the new Armenian state. The Germans, after the collapse of Russia, had proclaimed an Armenian state under their protection. But on the conclusion of the war the Russians returned to Russian Armenia and the project of the union of the two parts of ancient Armenia came to an end. However, a Soviet Armenian Republic was set up in December and the Armenians, having secured peace, have begun, with promising results, to rehabilitate the country. Cotton and tobacco are being grown and copper mined. The area of the Soviet Republic is 11,583 square miles and the population (1933) 1,109,000, 84.7 per cent of whom are Armenians.

**Armistice of 1940, French:** Marshal Pétain, immediately on appointment as Prime Minister of France in June 1940,

requested an armistice from Germany. This was arranged on 21 June in the Forest of Compiègne, where a similar armistice was granted to Germany by the victorious Allies twenty-two years earlier. By the Armistice of 1940 the greater part of France, including Paris, the Atlantic sea-coast and a corridor connecting with Spain, was placed under German control, the French Army was demobilized and disarmed except for a small force required for the maintenance of internal order, the French fleet, except for a small portion required for the colonial empire, was also demobilized and disarmed under German control, but not to be used against Britain, and the cost of the German army of occupation was debited against France. So far as Italian interests were concerned, zones from 30 to 120 miles wide in France, North Africa, and French Somaliland were to be demilitarized, Italy was to be given complete rights over the port of Jibuti in French Somaliland and the French section of the railway from Jibuti into Ethiopia, and the fortified areas and naval bases of Toulon, Bizerta, Ajaccio, and Oran were to be demobilized.

**Aryan Decrees:** Laws or regulations adopted at Nürnberg on the assumption of power by the National Socialists in Germany in 1933, whereby all 'Non-Aryans' (q.v.) were at a stroke reduced from the status of citizens to that of subjects and gradually helots without rights or protection of any kind. At first exceptions were made in favour of those who had fought during the war or who had had near relatives killed in battle, but this exception was quickly brushed aside. Jews, including persons of somewhat remote Jewish origin, were excluded at first from the professions, later from every occupation that would bring them into contact with non-Jews. They were plundered, ill-treated, tortured, murdered. To kill or rob a Jew was no offence, was even encouraged. Crimes were invented of which only Jews could be guilty. Various articles of food and other commodities were forbidden to Jews. Children were stolen from their parents and never heard of again; husbands and wives separated; able-bodied men and women sent into slavery thousands of miles from their homes; and whole

communities deported to ghettos in Eastern Europe or concentration camps. This measure of persecution was indigenous only in Germany, but as the National Socialist influence spread, its adoption was made practically compulsory on the subordinate states. But only in Germany was it imposed with the fullest intensity. Elsewhere, it was so obviously opposed to the wishes of large sections of the population, that it could not be carried out with Teutonic thoroughness.

**Aryans:** Aryan, if the term can be used of a people, denotes those who speak one of the Indo-European languages. In this sense Indians and Iranians are Aryans, but most Europeans, even the Germans, are not. But the term has been usurped by National Socialist Germans and their followers to denote any white people, except the Jews and the Slavs, in the latter instance unless political relations with a branch of them are cordial. At first it was intended to limit the appellation to the Teutonic peoples, as an alternative to Nordic. It soon became, however, one of mere insensate prejudice, so that even the Magyars and the Japanese became 'Honorary' Aryans and Arabs and Turks, if they were willing to help to further Herr Hitler's ambitions, were also admitted to the circle.

**Asiatic Pact:** see Saadabad Pact.

**Assyrian Christians:** The remnant of Assyrian Christians or Chaldaeans, living in Asia Minor as Ottoman subjects, gave all of their sympathies and most of their fighting power to the British in the war between Britain and Turkey. When the boundaries were finally drawn after the war the Assyrians found to their consternation that their homes were left in Turkish territory instead of being allotted to the new state of Iraq which they expected would remain under British control. Many of them thereupon moved across the Iraq frontier and took service as a kind of gendarmerie under Britain. When independence was granted later to Iraq, that state began at once to raise armed forces from among the sections of the population which it considered to be single-minded in their loyalty. Dissatisfaction and fear spread among the Assyrians and the Iraq Government made a few

arrests. Some fifteen hundred of the Assyrians thereupon attempted to emigrate to the neighbouring Syria, but they were sent back by the French. The Iraqis attempted to disarm them on their return and the struggles that ensued developed into a massacre not only of the returning refugees, but also of their kinsmen who had remained in Iraq. The Iraqi army had undoubtedly taken part in the massacre and the Government was involved. The matter came before the League of Nations which considered that the best form of settlement would be to settle the Assyrians elsewhere. There were two or three projects in South America and Syria, but they were not realized, except that a small number did settle in Syria and remained there undisturbed. For those who remained in Iraq also the subsequent years were without history.

**Atlantic Charter:** The Atlantic Charter, to which the United Nations have subscribed, was drawn up by Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt on 14 August 1941. It contains eight points. The countries declare that they seek:

1. No aggrandizement, territorial or other.
2. No territorial change without the wishes of the peoples concerned, and that does not accord with their wishes.
3. The restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples deprived of them, and respect for the right of all peoples to choose their own forms of government.
4. To develop access to trade and raw materials by all peoples.
5. To improve labour standards, social security, and economic advancement.
6. To establish a peace in which men may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. To enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
8. To disarm the aggressor nations pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security and at the same time to aid and encourage all other practicable measures for lightening the burden of armaments.

Then on 2 January 1942 came the common declaration that each Government would 'employ its resources, military

and economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact (q.v.) and its adherents, with which such a Government is at war, and would not make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies'.

An Inter-Allied conference, meeting on 24 September, endorsed the Charter unanimously. Later, however (22 February 1944), the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, announced in Parliament that Clause 2 did not apply to enemy territory, and a year later (21 March) that the Charter should be accepted as 'a guide and not a rule'. Previously, in December 1943, he and Marshal Stalin, having apparently agreed on the annexation by Russia of Eastern Poland, agreed further that Poland should find compensation in German territory, without any consideration for the wishes of the inhabitants. Earlier still words had been used that indicated that the benefits of the Charter were to be limited to the white people, with the addition perhaps of the Chinese. It also transpired in course of time that the Charter was an informal document, perhaps merely an expression of opinion, since it had never been signed, presumably to avoid submission to the United States Senate.

**Atomic Bomb:** An extremely powerful engine of destruction perfected in 1945 and first used in the closing days of the war with Japan. Two were dropped from United States aeroplanes over Japanese cities. The first is estimated to have destroyed from 70,000 to 120,000 human beings in Hiroshima and to have seriously injured some 200,000 others. The second was dropped on Nagasaki, a few days later, and killed from 40,000 to 45,000 human beings and injured some 40,000 others. The only limitation on the production of these bombs, apart from the temporary monopoly of the knowledge of manufacturing them possessed by United States, and to a less extent by British and Canadian scientists, is their extreme costliness. In course of time this will, however, be reduced. The effectiveness of these instruments of destruction will, it is anticipated, be at the same time increased, and the possibility of the destruction of present-day civilization by means of them has been contemplated. On the other hand it is claimed that the discoveries,

if put to other uses, could raise the standards of living immeasurably in all countries. Uranium (q.v.) is essential for the production of atomic energy.

The policy of the United States of America, as expressed by President Truman, was that, although 'the problems created by the release of atomic energy' should be considered in co-operation with the other United Nations, the processes of manufacture should remain the secret of his Government. This policy was very strongly criticized outside the United States and also by some authorities within. It was also pointed out that the secrets of manufacture cannot in any circumstances be preserved by any one group of scientists for long. Soviet critics were especially frank. Early, in November 1945, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, went to Washington to discuss the subject with the American President. Britain favoured the international control of atomic development, whether for warlike or peaceful uses, and was opposed to the waste that would be caused if each of the larger nations established its own plants. On both political and economic grounds it was considered desirable that all large-scale research should be concentrated at one international station. But if the United States maintained her present policy there seemed no alternative before Britain but to set up her own atomic research station, and the first steps in that direction were taken. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Truman and also the Canadian Prime Minister, who shared in the discussions, issued a statement at their end. This declared the willingness of the three statesmen to exchange basic scientific information for peaceful ends. They were, however, of the opinion that it was inadvisable to spread specialized knowledge concerning the practical application of atomic energy until effective safeguards against its use as a war weapon had been devised, and it was recommended that a Commission should be set up under the United Nations to attain the most effective means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive ends, and of promoting its widest use for industrial and humanitarian purposes. The subject was discussed by the Foreign Ministers of the three great Powers at Moscow in December,



and it was there agreed to set up such a commission with instructions to report to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such a commission was set up at the first meeting of the United Nations Organization, in London in January 1946, and met in June.

**Ausgleich:** The Compromise, an agreement between the Emperor Francis Joseph and Hungary in 1867, by which Hungary was made independent within the Dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary, with control of all of her affairs except foreign policy, finance, and military matters. The texts of the Austrian and Hungarian laws by which the Ausgleich was put into effect were not identical. Incidentally Croatia, which had been granted independence in 1861, was handed back to Hungary by the Ausgleich.

**Australia:** The Commonwealth of Australia consists of six states, originally colonies, viz.: New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania. The Commonwealth was proclaimed on 1 January 1901. There are a Governor-General and two Houses of Parliament for the Commonwealth as a whole and governors and legislatures for the individual states. The site of the capital, Canberra, was originally a part of New South Wales, but is now Commonwealth territory. By the constitution of the Commonwealth only certain specific powers were transferred to the central government, the others remaining with the states. The Federal Parliament was given power over commerce, shipping, finance, currency, defence, external affairs, postal and telegraph services, railways, copyright, industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one state, and certain other matters. The history of the past twenty years has been one of continuous enlargement of this list, sometimes formally by Act of Parliament, at others almost unnoticed. The Uniform Income Tax Law of July 1942 was regarded by many as almost the end of the original constitutional era and a very long step towards the abolition of the federal constitution. By this measure the powers of taxation are almost completely vested in the Commonwealth Government. In December 1942 a constitutional convention approved a Bill transferring to the

Commonwealth fourteen specific powers for purposes of post-war reconstruction for five years from the end of the hostilities, but only two of the six states of the Commonwealth accepted the decision of the convention. Three others did so with amendments. One rejected it outright. To resolve the difficulty a referendum was held. This decided against the proposals which therefore lapsed.

**Austria:** Austria, as a state in Central Europe, goes back to the eleventh century, as the name of an empire only to 1804. For centuries before that year, however, it was the centre of the empire over which the Habsburgs (q.v.) ruled. In successive wars during the nineteenth century Austria lost much of its non-German territory, and on the termination of the World War in 1918 it was stripped ruthlessly in favour of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Yugoslavia. As a consequence the population of the remnant was reduced to 7,661,723 (1912 estimate), of whom 2,149,800 lived in the capital, Vienna. In 1918, also, the monarchy was abolished and a republic substituted. The position of the republic was always precarious. Disarmed, surrounded by hostile neighbours, insolvent, and economically incapable apparently of becoming solvent, her position was from the beginning practically hopeless. Austria could live, only if incorporated with a larger and stronger Power. For this role Germany was the obvious candidate, but the Powers of the Little Entente and France were determinedly opposed to any such incorporation. Even a proposal for a customs agreement with Germany, which might have restored the economic balance of Austria, was vetoed (see Anschluss). In Germany, as time passed, the desire grew on other grounds for the acquisition of Austria. In Italy also such a project was not looked on favourably, but Italy compensated for her opposition somewhat by adopting the role of Protector of Austria. Once, when Germany threatened to invade Austria, Italy sent troops to the Austrian frontier with instructions presumably to march to her support in the event of invasion. But German influence penetrated into Italy also, and before the end came, so far as Italy was concerned, Germany was permitted a free hand. The end came on 12 March 1938,

when, after a series of German threats and crimes, including the murder of the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Dollfuss, Germany suddenly invaded Austria and Herr Hitler decreed it a part of the German Reich. The Government and administration of Austria were in all respects assimilated to those of Germany. A reign of terror, in which all who were not *personae gratae* with the National Socialists or any prominent member of that party were treated with extreme cruelty. Jews, Socialists, Communists, Royalists, and supporters of the régime that had been suppressed were hunted like wild beasts. Austria had ceased to exist. Only among those fugitives who had succeeded in escaping to more civilized lands did the spirit of Austria survive. The position of these fugitives after the outbreak of war was extremely difficult, for, the Powers having acquiesced in the destruction of Austria and the seizure by Germany of its assets, former Austrians were legally German subjects, and as such enemies of the Allied states. There was a great desire among these refugees to create a Free Austria, parallel to the similar committees of French, Belgians, Danes, and others in exile. In the case of the Austrians this movement obtained little encouragement. Only in the U.S.A. was a Free Austrian Movement recognized. However, at the Conference of the Principal Allies at Moscow in October 1943, they agreed that Austria should be released from German control. The annexation of 15 March 1938 was declared null and void and the re-establishment of a free and independent Austria was declared to be one of the aims of the Allies. Austria was reminded, however, that 'she has a responsibility which she cannot evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation'.

On the liberation of Austria by Russian forces, an Austrian Government, under Dr. Karl Renner, a Social Democrat, who had headed the Austrian Peace Delegation in 1919, was set up without any consultation of Russia's allies. Later, however, the country was placed under the joint occupation of the four principal Allied Powers and, after a short interval, elections were held in which the Communist Party was placed

in a very small minority. A coalition government was then formed.

**Agriculture** is the principal occupation of Austria, but the country does not produce sufficient food for its population. Timber is an appreciable asset. Of minerals, anthracite and lignite, iron, zinc, and lead are mined, and copper and graphite also to a small extent. Austria before its seizure covered 82,269 square miles.

See also Carinthia; Tyrol, The.

**Autarky:** Absolute sovereignty or despotism.

**Axis, The Rome-Berlin:** The community of views and policy, in both foreign and domestic affairs, between the Nazi and Fascist Governments of Germany and Italy. The Axis became fully effective in December 1937, when Italy withdrew from the League of Nations and Germany declared that she would never return to it. After her declaration of war against Britain and the U.S.A., Japan also joined the Axis.

**Azerbaijan:** One of the most productive provinces of Persia in the north-west of that kingdom and adjoining the territory of the Union of Soviet Republics. Its area is about 32,000 square miles, and its population of about two millions, consists of Persians, Armenians, Turks, Kurds and others. Persian Azerbaijan occupies a strategic position of great importance. To the north are the Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia; to the west is Turkey; to the south-west Iraq. An 'independent' Azerbaijan would cut Turkey off completely from Persia; open the Turkish back door by exposing the vitally important road running south of Ararat to Erzerum; and install Russia on the north-eastern frontier of Iraq. The principal town is Tabriz. The province is rich in agriculture and also in minerals, the latter including lead, copper, sulphur, lignite and a very beautiful marble.

The Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan is one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union. Its territory covers 32,686 square miles and its population numbered, in 1939, 3,209,700. Its capital is Baku, the great oil centre, with 809,347 inhabitants. Apart from mineral oil, the principal products of Azerbaijan are grain, cotton, vegetables, and wine.

See also Persia.

**Azores, The:** The Azores are a group of islands, 922 square miles in area and 287,000 in population in 1940, lying west of the Straits of Gibraltar. The islands have been Portuguese since their rediscovery in the fifteenth century, and are an integral part of the Portuguese state. They are a popular health resort. Lying 800 or 900 miles west of Portugal in the Atlantic, the islands are about 1,200 miles from Newfoundland. They contain two moderately sized harbours and an airfield, completed early in 1943. There are also two flying-boat bases. By an agreement between Portugal, Great Britain and the United States of America, in October 1943, the first-named Power, while remaining a non-belligerent in the war, granted to the two other parties to the agreement the use of the islands for their air and naval forces.

The exports of the Azores consist of fruit, in particular pine-apples, wine, and natural mineral waters. Almost half of the total population lives in the island of St. Michael's.

**Bahrein:** a state consisting of a group of islands in the Persian Gulf, close to the coast of Arabia. It originated in 1782, previous to which year the islands formed part of the kingdom of Persia. Bahrein is the centre of the pearl-fishing industry of the Persian Gulf. Dates are the principal agricultural product. Mineral oil is produced there. Bahrein is the principal port of the Nejd section of Saudi-Arabia. An independent state, it is under British protection, and Great Britain has had to intervene on several occasions to withstand the threatened encroachment of neighbouring states, in particular Persia.

**Balearic Islands:** A group of four islands (Majorca, Minorca, Iviza, and Formentera) with a number of islets, in the Western Mediterranean, off the coast of Spain. They were conquered by the Moors in 903 and by Spain in 1232. For 117 years they formed an independent Spanish kingdom, but in 1349 were merged in that of Spain. In the Wars of the Spanish Succession Port Mahon on Minorca was taken by the British in 1708 and was retained by them until 1756, when it was captured by the French. For two further periods—1763 to 1782 and 1798 to 1802—it was held by the British,

but in the last-mentioned year it was ceded to Spain, with whom the islands have since remained. In the course of the Spanish Civil War of 1936 Italy was strongly suspected of designs on the Balearic Islands, on which she had landed troops, ostensibly to support the rebels, but at the conclusion of hostilities the troops were withdrawn. The principal products of the islands are almonds, olives and other fruits, and pigs. Lignite is found there.

**Balfour Declaration:** Communication made (2 November 1917) by the British Government through Arthur James (afterwards Earl) Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild on behalf of the Zionists stating that 'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country'. The Declaration was hailed by Zionists as their charter. Within a few weeks a communication made to the Sherif of Mecca, afterwards King Husein of the Hedjaz, elaborated this promise to include the safeguarding also of the economic and political freedom of the existing population of Palestine. See also Zionism.

**Balfour Declaration (1926):** see Westminster, Statute of.

**Balfour Note:** see Debts, Inter-Allied.

**Balkan Pact, The:** An agreement between Greece, Rumania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, signed on 9 February 1934. This pact extended to the two other signatory Powers the agreement between Greece and Turkey of the previous year (14 September) in which these two Powers guaranteed the inviolability of their common frontiers and agreed to consult on international questions of common interest. At all international conferences the representatives of the two Powers were to act in union. The Balkan Pact made provision for the adherence of other Powers, but only with the unanimous agreement of the four original signatories. The relations between the Balkan allies and Bulgaria were

friendly, and in July 1938 a formal treaty was made between them. By this treaty all five Powers disclaimed all intention of resorting to force in any dispute that might arise between any of them. The four Powers at the same time agreed to the revocation of Part IV of the Treaty of Neuilly (q.v.) which provided for the compulsory disarmament of Bulgaria, and of the Convention of Lausanne regarding the frontier of Thrace which provided for a demilitarized zone at Bulgaria's expense there. This treaty made Bulgaria almost a member of the Balkan Entente. Bulgaria, however, made it clear that she did not renounce her claims to the territory she had lost under the Treaty of Neuilly.

**Balkan Union:** see Greco-Yugoslav Union.

**Baltic Pact, The:** A treaty of agreement and collaboration between Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, signed on 12 September 1934, in which they undertook to act in concert in questions of foreign policy affecting them all and to afford one another mutual political and diplomatic assistance, to hold regular frequent conferences to this end, and to make every effort to settle amicably any differences that might arise between them. The Pact was open to the adhesion of other states.

**Bank for International Settlements:** An international financial institution founded originally for dealing with all Reparation (q.v.) transactions. Its functions, as defined in its statutes, are (a) to promote the co-operation of central banks, (b) to provide additional facilities for international financial operations, (c) to act as trustee or agent in regard to international financial settlements entrusted to it. Later the Bank interested itself in the financing of foreign trade. The headquarters are at Basle. The Bank opened business on 20 May 1930 with a capital of 500 million Swiss gold francs, provided by ten creditor governments. The British deposit in the Bank, late in 1942, was between two and three million pounds, a quarter of which had been called up. In 1942 the President of the Bank was a United States citizen, and the other sixteen directors citizens of Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, Japan, Great Britain, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland.

**Barley:** The world production of barley in 1938 was 425,100,000 quintals (1,854,550,920 bushels). The principal producing countries are the U.S.S.R., 82,000,000 quintals; the U.S.A., 55,084,000; Germany and Austria, 45,539,000; Turkey, 23,867,000; Canada, 22,260,000; India, 21,195,000; Japan, 13,975,000; Poland, 13,713,000; Denmark, 13,594,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,286,000; France, 12,908,000; Corea, 11,125,000; and French Morocco, 21,280,000. In addition to this total the output of Iraq was estimated at 11,384,000 quintals.

**Basques, The:** The Basques are a people of unknown, non-European origin, who inhabit the north-west provinces of Spain with an overflow across the Pyrenees into France. The Basque Provinces have been a part of Spain since 1370, but for the greater part of the period they have enjoyed a considerable measure of independence, with their own laws, language, customs, and, even to some extent, freedom in foreign affairs. This independence was, however, seriously curtailed after the defeat of the Carlists in 1876. Later, under the Republic, the autonomy of the Basques was enlarged. They fought heroically, and suffered very severely, against the Franquist rebellion (1936), and with its success lost practically all their privileges. The iron-mines of the Basque Provinces are very important. The second most important industry is fishing. The Basque Provinces are also noteworthy for their cider production and wines.

**Basutoland:** see African Protectorates.

**Bauxite:** Bauxite is used almost entirely in the production of aluminium. The world production of bauxite in 1937 was 3,873,500 tons. Of this total 690,900 were produced in France, 427,000 in the U.S.A., 532,700 in Hungary, 392,400 in Dutch Guiana, 886,500 in Italy, 366,700 in British Guiana, 854,200 in Yugoslavia, 230,000 in the U.S.S.R., 199,000 in the Netherlands Indies, and 137,400 in Greece. The outbreak of war in 1939 gave a great impetus to the production of bauxite, and when the Continental and, later, Dutch East Indies supplies were cut off from the British and Americans, the North and South American supplies were intensively developed. The production in the United States alone was



raised to 7,026,040 tons in 1943, almost all of which came from the mines in Arkansas.

**Bechuanaland:** see African Protectorates.

**Belgium:** Belgium, a kingdom on the eastern shore of the North Sea, lying between Holland, Germany, and France, was formed by a secession from the Kingdom of Holland in 1830, having been for fifteen years a part of that kingdom. By the Treaty of London (15 November 1831) the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and Prussia. This treaty was abrogated in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles. The war that preceded that treaty had begun with the invasion of Belgium by Germany, and throughout the war Belgium was one of the Powers at war with Germany, receiving at its conclusion small accessions of territory at Germany's expense. Belgium, having acquired by this measure complete freedom, at once entered into a military agreement with France, and for the next fifteen years, until 1935, was very much under the influence of France. These ties were loosened somewhat by the Franco-Russian Treaty of mutual support to which Belgium took great exception, to the failure of Sanctions (q.v.) as applied to Italy, and to the German remilitarization of the Rhineland which reduced the power of the French to protect her territories. Belgium was a party to the Locarno Treaty (q.v.), which should have been an adequate safeguard, but belief in the adequacy of the treaty was diminishing. To Belgium the Locarno Treaty had become a doubtful asset and to relieve herself of the apparent liability it had become she secured in April 1937 the consent of the British and French Governments to release her from her obligations under that treaty. These two Powers at the same time renewed the pledges they had given in the previous year, of assistance to Belgium in the event of attack. Later in the same year Germany also gave an undertaking to respect the inviolability and integrity of Belgium and to support her in the event of an attack. Henceforth Belgium was free to follow her own foreign policy. The only obligation on her in the event of war was to defend herself. Such an occasion occurred in May 1940, when in the midst of the war between Germany

and the Allies, Germany suddenly invaded Belgium. Britain and France at once went to her assistance, but Belgium, having been defeated, laid down her arms within a few days and the British Army was extricated only after very heavy losses.

In Belgium itself politics in recent years have been overcast by differences between the Walloon (q.v.) (French-speaking) and the Flemish (akin to the Dutch) sections of the population. The country is by its constitution bilingual, but this did not satisfy the Flemish element, who from the beginning of the twentieth century have always nurtured a movement for autonomy, at times for secession and union with Holland or even Germany (see Flemish Movement). In more recent years a Fascist movement, the Rexist, has also arisen, and this showed itself during the German occupation thoroughly disloyal. On the military collapse of Belgium the Cabinet escaped to France and set up a government in exile there. The King remained with his army and was treated as a prisoner. Belgium's one colony, the Belgian Congo, gave its allegiance to the Government-in-exile and Belgian contingents continued to fight on the side of the Allies.

Belgium, a small country, is thoroughly industrialized. It produces also cereals, potatoes, sugar, iron, steel, zinc, lead, and alcohol.

**Belgo-Luxemburg Economic Union:** see Luxemburg.

**Berchtesgaden Agreement:** see Munich Pact.

**Berlin Conference:** see Potsdam Conference.

**Berne Convention:** The Berne Copyright Convention was signed in 1886. It secured the fullest national and international protection for authors of literary and artistic works in all countries, parties to the Convention. These consist of all of the countries of Europe (except Soviet Russia and Turkey), the British Dominions and colonies, Japan, Siam, and Brazil. Haiti, Estonia, and Latvia were formerly parties to the Convention, but have withdrawn. The United States of America is not a party to the Convention, although proposals to that end have been made on more than one occasion. The Convention was revised at Rome in 1928.

**Bessarabia:** A province in eastern Europe lying between the Pruth and the Dniester rivers, with the Soviet Republics of the Ukraine and Moldavia on the north-east and Rumania on the south-west. The other state with which the frontier of Bessarabia runs is Poland. Bessarabia is very rich agriculturally and produces wheat, maize, wine, tobacco, and fruits. Wool also is exported. Of the population of about three millions, half are Rumanians and about 20 percent Ukrainians. In the Roman era the province was colonized by the Romans as a bulwark against the barbarians of the east. With the weakening of the Empire, hordes of one race after the other poured across Bessarabia, which consequently had frequent changes of master. It passed under the rule of Moldavian princes first in 1367. They alternated with Turks and Russian Tatars, until 1812, when Bessarabia was definitely annexed by Russia, with whom it remained until 1917, except that Russia lost a small part of the province after the Crimean War, but recovered a little of it under the Treaty of Berlin (1878). With the break-up of the Russian Empire in 1917, Bessarabia became one of the Federated Republics of the Soviet Union. She soon, however, declared herself independent and in November 1918 accepted incorporation in Rumania. Britain, France, Italy, and Japan recognized this change of status, but the U.S.A. declined to do so on the ground that Russia had not been consulted, and Russia objected most strongly and persisted in the objection until in 1940, under pressure by Germany, Rumania was forced to cede the whole province, with part of the Bukowina in addition, to Russia.

**Bolshevism:** The doctrine professed by the extreme Left wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party; from *Bolshevik* (majority), the conference of the Party in London in 1903 having accepted the doctrine by a small majority. The doctrine dates back to 1883 when Pleckhanov and Axelrod, under the influence of Karl Marx, founded 'the Group for the Emancipation of Labour'. The founder of Bolshevism, as a practical policy, was however Vladimir Lenin. The policy of the Bolshevik movement is that of revolution leading to dictatorship of the proletariat. See Marxism.

**Borneo, British North:** The northern part of the large island of Borneo in the Malay Archipelago, administered by a chartered company which appoints a governor who has to be approved by the Secretary of State in London. The British appeared in this region first in 1759, but their settlement was destroyed by the natives. In 1847 the Sultan of the neighbouring Brunei undertook to cede territory only with British consent, and from the territories of Brunei the state of British North Borneo was largely built up. The British North Borneo Provisional Association, later the British North Borneo Company, was formed in 1881 to take over a concession from the Sultan of Sulu and this company ultimately became the administrators of the territory. In July 1946 its status was changed to that of a Crown Colony. Its area is about 29,500 square miles with a coast-line of over 900 miles. The population in 1939 was about 341,000. The principal exports are rubber and timber. Gold, petroleum, copper, iron, manganese, and tin exist, but have not been exploited.

**Bornholm:** An island in the Western Baltic Sea, ninety miles east of Denmark, lying between Sweden and Germany, but a part of the Kingdom of Denmark. Its area is 226 square miles, and its population about 50,000, engaged in fishing, the manufacture of earthenware, weaving, clock-making, and agriculture. The island was also formerly the resort of visitors in summer. Until 1645 it was under the sway of the Hanseatic League or the City of Lübeck. In that year Sweden captured the island, but the people were always inclined to Danish rule, and after fifteen years Danish forces expelled the Swedes. Together with the remainder of Denmark the island passed under German control in 1940. On the expulsion of the Germans, five years later, Russian forces occupied the island but evacuated it after about a year.

**Boxer Indemnity, The:** The Boxer movement arose in China at the end of the nineteenth century. It first came to public notice towards the end of 1899 when an English missionary was murdered in Shantung. It was originally a secret association of malcontents who might have developed

into rebels if they had not been, more or less deliberately, diverted into an anti-foreign movement. Behind the movement there was a religious inspiration. The movement, as an anti-foreign one, rapidly gained strength. The first outrages were committed against native Christians, but foreigners soon fell victims also, and by June Japanese and German diplomatists had been murdered by soldiery and the British legation, in which most of the European residents of Peking had taken refuge, was besieged. A mixed force of European, American, and Japanese troops, under a British admiral, was hastily sent up from the coast. It had to fight its way forward. In the meanwhile the Europeans in other Chinese cities were being attacked. In fact a small war of China against the rest of the world had broken out. Before the anti-foreign movement was suppressed an army of over 20,000 men went into action.

Part of the punishment of the Chinese was the imposition of an indemnity which came to be known as the Boxer Indemnity. This had to be paid in annual instalments and these were punctually received for some years. In the end, in 1930, Britain came to an agreement regarding her share of the indemnity whereby the portion that had been paid was refunded to China and the claim to the remainder waived, on the condition, however, that the greater part of the whole sum should be spent in Britain on the purchase of railway material for the rehabilitation of the Chinese railways, and the remainder be spent by the Chinese Government on other constructive objects. Under the treaties with Great Britain and the United States of 11 January 1943, these Powers surrendered their rights, under the Peking (Boxer) Protocol of 1901 to station troops in China and to place the Peking diplomatic quarter under foreign control.

**Brandenburg:** The Margraviate and Electorate of the Empire at whose centre Berlin lies, and out of which developed the Kingdom of Prussia and the later German Empire. The history of Brandenburg begins with the defeat of the Havelli, a Slavonic tribe, by the German king, Henry the Fowler, in 927, and the capture of their capital, Brennibor, whence the name Brandenburg is derived. From that day to this

Brandenburg has remained a German land. In 1415 a Hohenzollern became Margrave of Brandenburg. Frederick William, the 'Great Elector', who came to the throne in 1640, was one of the contestants with France in the time of Louis XIV and one of the defenders of Europe against French imperialism. It was he who laid the foundations of the future greatness of Prussia. His son, Frederick III, was the first King of Prussia, much of which had by then become a part of the greatly extended margraviate. The province of Brandenburg lies in the centre and the east of Prussia.

At the conclusion of the war between Germany and the Allies, and after Russia had in effect annexed Eastern Poland, Russia and Britain suggested to Poland that she should compensate herself by the annexation of all' of Germany east of the Rivers Oder and Neisse. This included a substantial part of Brandenburg which Poland with Russian assistance proceeded to occupy. The occupation, although not the final annexation, was acquiesced in by the three principal Allies at the Potsdam Conference (q.v.) in July 1945.

**Brenner Pass:** The lowest and most frequented pass over the Alps and the one through which most of the Teutonic invaders have entered Italy. Previously, in Austrian territory, it was allotted to Italy after the World War of 1914 to 1918, although this necessitated the transfer to Italy of a compact German population. The existence of Austria as an independent state, a buffer between Italy and Germany, was for long a cardinal principle of Italian foreign policy and when in 1934 an attack on Austria by Germany seemed imminent, Italy sent troops to the Brenner Pass to support her Austrian protégé. Four years later, however, when Germany at length seized Austria, Italy found herself helpless and had to accept the *fait accompli*, and did so without obvious unwillingness.

**Brest-Litovsk Treaties:** Two treaties between the Bolshevik governments of Russia and of the Ukraine respectively and the Central Powers, signed at the beginning of 1918, which brought the war in Eastern Europe to an end. By the treaty with the Ukraine, which had in the

course of the negotiations parted from Russia, Austro-Hungary ceded the district of Chelm, undertook to create an autonomous state out of the Ruthenian parts of Galicia and the Bukowina and to grant cultural rights to Ruthenians elsewhere in the Empire. The Ukraine, on its part, undertook to supply a million tons of foodstuffs annually to the Central Powers.

The treaty with Russia was more severe, being dictated by Germany. Estonia and Livonia were in effect ceded to Germany and Kars, Ardapan, and Batoum to Turkey. Lithuania, Finland, Poland, and the Ukraine had already seceded from the Russian state. Lithuania and Poland were in German occupation, Finland and the Ukraine in a state of greater freedom. In addition, Russia undertook to pay 800 million gold roubles (£30,000,000) as an indemnity, but termed 'compensation'. With the collapse of the Central Powers the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk were necessarily cancelled.

**Bretton Woods Conference:** A conference of forty-four governments held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, U.S.A., in July 1944, to consider the monetary proposals previously put forward by representatives of the British and United States Governments (see Clearing Unions, International). The conclusions reached at this conference followed to a very large extent the compromise between the Keynes and Morgenthau Plans reached by Britain and the United States.

The main objectives of the Conference were:

(1) To promote international monetary co-operation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems.

(2) To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy.

(8) To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly

exchange stability, and orderly exchange arrangements among members, and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.

(4) To assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments in respect of current transactions between members, and in the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade.

(5) To give confidence to members of making the fund's resources available to them under adequate safeguards, thus providing them with the opportunity to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity.

(6) In accordance with the above to shorten the duration and lessen the degree of unbalance in the financial position of members.

The Conference recommended, to attain these objects, the institution of an International Monetary Fund with a capital of 10,000 million dollars, partly in gold and partly in the currency of the co-operating states, about a third of which was to be contributed by the United States of America and about a sixth each by the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Republics. The Executive Council of the Fund was to consist of one representative each of the three aforementioned Powers, France and China, two of Latin America and five of the other states. The Conference recommended also the establishment of an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the co-operation of the member-states in the granting of assistance towards those objects, preference being given in its activities to the countries that had suffered devastation from the war.

The agreement reached required the ratification of the Governments of the Powers that took part in the Conference, and here greater difficulties arose. Informed opinion in Britain and the United States was a little doubtful of the recommendations. The United States Congress, however, agreed to their ratification before the end of July 1945. Under the American Loan Agreement (q.v.) of December 1945, Great Britain was bound to adhere to the Bretton Woods Agreement. This she did and on 27 December of



that year the latter agreement came into force, twenty-eight governments signing it on that day. Russia, however, abstained.

**Briand Memorandum:** See Federal Union.

**Bucharest, Treaty of:** A treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers, signed at Bucharest on 7 May 1918, by which the War, so far as those powers were concerned, was ended. By this treaty the Dobrudja (q.v.) was ceded, the southern portion being allotted to Bulgaria, and a small strip of territory, of strategic value, to Hungary. The Central Powers were also given valuable economic rights in Rumania. The Treaty of Bucharest was, on the defeat of the Central Powers, cancelled by the Treaty of Versailles.

**Bukowina, The:** A small province of south-eastern Europe which, until 1918, was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was ceded to Rumania in 1918 and remained a part of that kingdom until 1940 when Rumania was forced by Germany to yield the greater part of it together with Bessarabia to Russia. The population is mixed, and, although Rumanians are numerous, they are not in a majority. The largest element is the Ruthenian, akin to the Ukrainians, but this is for the most part peasant. In the historical past the Bukowina had connexions with Moldavia out of which the Kingdom of Rumania grew. Politically, however, it was under Turkish or Austrian control, except for five years—1769 to 1774—when it was under Russian rule. Its population in 1930 was 845,903 and its principal town is Czernowitz (Cernauti).

**Bulgaria:** A kingdom in the Balkans, since 1908. In 1878 it was created an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of Turkey, but practically an independent state. Previously it had been a part of the Ottoman Empire—since 1396. The Bulgars, a non-European race akin to the Tatars, appeared in Europe towards the end of the seventh century and retained their independence, at times acquiring considerable power and territory, until they were conquered by the Turks. Bulgaria owes its present independence to a revolt against Turkey in which it enjoyed the support of Russia. The boundaries, as drawn in the

Treaties of San Stefano (1878) and Berlin (1878) left a Bulgarian irredenta (see Irredentism) in the Dobrudja (q.v.) and in Macedonia (q.v.) and in addition she was cut off from the open sea by Turkish and later Greek Thrace (q.v.). In her successive wars with Turkey, Serbia, and Greece, Rumania, and the Allied Powers, her object was always to extend her territories to include these regions. At the end of the war with Turkey (1913) she acquired most of Macedonia and Western Thrace, but much of this was immediately lost to Serbia and Greece, Rumania at the same time taking the Bulgarian Dobrudja. The war with Britain and France of 1914 brought her no accession of territory, but in 1940, in preparation for her alliance with Germany, she recovered from Rumania the lost Dobrudja.

Bulgaria admitted herself defeated in October 1944, on the 28th of which month she signed an armistice with Russia which had declared war against and invaded her territory a few days earlier. She had been at war with the other Allied Powers for some time. Shortly before the declaration by Russia, Bulgaria, which had changed her government, declared war on her ally Germany. This action, however, did not stay the hand of Russia. Under the terms of the armistice Bulgaria undertook to intern or expel all Germans, to withdraw all troops from Greece and Yugoslavia, to place them at the disposal of the Allied Powers, to admit Allied troops to her territories and to supply Greece and Yugoslavia with food. The principle of reparations was accepted, but no figure was for the time being mentioned. The relations between the new Bulgarian Government, representative of the Left Wing parties, and that of Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia were excellent, and the two Powers at once began to co-operate in the expulsion of the Germans from their territories. The one cause for anxiety was the openly expressed desire in Greece for the annexation, as compensation for the attack on that country, of Bulgarian territory. In this matter Bulgaria had, however, the support of Russia, under whose influence she passed completely.

The area of Bulgaria in 1939 was about 40,000 square miles and its population about six millions, about 81 per cent of

whom were of Bulgarian race and 11 per cent Turkish. Bulgaria is largely an agricultural country, cereals, tobacco, and attar of roses being exported. The country is said to be rich in minerals, but only soft coal is mined.

See also Moscow Agreement, The.

**Burgenland, The:** A province of Austria, on the frontier with Hungary, whose population was very mixed, but is now overwhelmingly German. From 1491 to 1647 the Burgenland was a part of Austria, but in the latter year it was mortgaged to Hungary with whom it remained until 1921 when it was returned to Austria, but without its principal city, Sopron. Of all the provinces of Austria the Burgenland is the most fertile and agriculturally developed.

**Burma:** The conquest of Burma and its incorporation in the Indian Empire began in 1824 and was completed in 1886. In 1923 Burma was constituted a Governor's Province under the Government of India. It was separated from India on 1 April 1937. The executive authority rests in the Governor, appointed by the King, with a Council of Ministers, who is under the direction of the Secretary of State for Burma, in London. There are also an elected house of representatives and a senate, one half of whose members is elected by the Lower House and the other half appointed by the Governor. There is no one Burmese people nor one Burmese language. There are many. Nor was the present Burma previously one state. The former kingdom of Burma, annexed in 1886, is represented by the present Upper Burma. Other parts of the present Burma are the Shan States.

The nationalist movement for self-government or independence in India had its repercussions in Burma, where, however, the agitation was never so violent as in India. On the whole the people of Burma are easygoing and realize the value of British rule. Of recent years, however, there has been some foreign influence in an anti-British direction with the result that on the outbreak of war with Japan in 1941, the Prime Minister had to be detained on account of improper communication with the enemy and on the subsequent Japanese invasion the invaders received some assistance from a section of the population. The anti-British element centred

in the Thakin Party, which stood for militant nationalism and had, since about 1935, given encouragement to strikes and other forms of anti-British activity.

The Japanese occupation, however, brought disillusionment, and after the British reoccupation of Burma there followed a *rapprochement* between the Thakin party and the ruling authorities.

In the early summer of 1945, when the Japanese invasion of Burma was coming to an end, the British Government announced its policy for the future. Among the young and educated Burmese there is an increasing movement for absolute independence, but this movement is not yet, at any rate, revolutionary. Such a development is necessarily outside the official British purview, but the British offer, which met provisionally with a large measure of acceptance, so far as the necessarily inadequate means of testing public opinion went, was for the institution of Dominion status for Burma in the not distant future, after a short, but inevitable period of government of the Executive Council type.

Burma produces teak, tin, tungsten, silver, petroleum, lead, zinc, nickel, and precious stones.

**Cadmium:** The total production of cadmium, a metal closely related to zinc in connexion with which it is found, in 1938 was 4,050 tons. Of these, 2,045 were produced in the U.S.A., 432 in Germany, 317 in Canada, and 244 in Poland. This total does not include figures for the U.S.S.R., which produced 115 tons in 1936. According to official figures the U.S.A. produced 3,400 tons of cadmium in 1941. Cadmium is used for the manufacture of alloys. It is the most useful of all metallic substitutes for tin and is employed for the hardening and strengthening of copper.

**Caliphate:** see Khalif.

**Cameroons, The:** The Cameroons were, until 1919, a German colony, but were ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers under the Treaty of Versailles and partitioned by them between Britain and France which hold them under a Mandate from the League of Nations. The British portion extends to 34,081 square miles and is contiguous to British

Nigeria, to which colony it is attached. The principal products are palm oil, palm kernels, cocoa, rubber, and bananas. The French Cameroons extend to 166,489 square miles. Their principal products are ground nuts, palm oil, almonds, hides, timber, cocoa, coffee, and ivory.

**Canary Islands:** A group of islands, sixty miles from the north-west coast of Africa, consisting of seven principal islands and a number of smaller ones. Their total area is about 2,807 square miles. The islands were conquered by Spain at the beginning of the fifteenth century and have ever since been a Spanish possession. They now comprise a Spanish province with a population, in 1931, of 564,873. The Canaries are very rich agriculturally, producing luxury fruits. Tobacco and sugar are also grown. Pigs, sheep, and goats are bred and fishing is an important industry. Wine was formerly made and cochineal produced but these industries have almost entirely disappeared.

**Canton and Enderbury:** See Pacific Islands, The British.

**Cape Verde Islands:** see Portuguese Colonies.

**Capitulations:** Treaties securing extraterritorial jurisdiction for the nationals of certain European and, later, American, states resident in Asia or Africa. These treaties were originally intended to be in the interests of the Asiatic and African states, relieving them of the necessity for controlling their European residents. They developed, however, into a system which gave the Europeans considerable advantages over the local populations. The capitulations system goes back to the ninth century when the Caliph Haroun al Rashid granted certain privileges to the merchant subjects of the Emperor Charlemagne. In recent years it has been resented by the Asiatic powers as limiting their sovereignty and infringing on their national rights. By successive treaties since that of Versailles (1919) these capitulations have been abolished and they survive only in respect of China (where their end is in sight) and parts of Morocco. See also Extraterritoriality.

**Caribbean Commission:** An Anglo-United States commission set up in March 1942 to encourage and strengthen social and economic co-operation between the two countries

in the Caribbean area. The Governments of France and of the Netherlands joined the Commission in December 1945.

**Carinthia:** A region of Austria, forming part of the former kingdom of Illyria, whose capital is Klagenfurt. Its area after the partition of 1919 was 3,500 square miles, and its population 366,500. Before the Partition, when the south-western portion went to Italy and the south-eastern to Yugoslavia, 76 per cent of the population was German and 21 per cent Slovenian or Slav. The partition transferred to Yugoslavian sovereignty the greater part of the Slovenian element. Nevertheless, on the expulsion of the Germans, the whole of Carinthia, Austrian as well as Italian, was claimed by Yugoslavia. Austria, on her part, claimed the restoration of the whole of the Province.

See also Slovenia.

**Carpatho-Ukraine:** see Ruthenia.

**Catalonia:** The north-eastern province of Spain which has always preserved its individuality. It includes the important ports of Barcelona and Tarragona. Catalonia was one of the earliest possessions of Rome in the Spanish peninsula. It was later occupied in succession by the Goths, the Moors, and the Spaniards. For a time, in the Middle Ages, it was an independent French county. It then passed to Aragon, but when, in 1640, Philip IV of Spain attempted to deprive it of its privileges it surrendered to Louis XIII of France. Spain recovered it in 1659, but lost it again to France in 1694, but for only three years. For another short period—1808 to 1813—Catalonia was held by France. In the last years of the Spanish monarchy the question of Catalan autonomy again became actual. It had suffered in its liberties as much, if not more than, the remainder of Spain under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. The Republic gave Catalonia a measure of autonomy in the Catalan Statute of 1932. There were, however, parties that demanded much more, and by them, in the supposed furtherance of their aims, anarchy was spread throughout Catalonia and continued until the Civil War. In resistance to the rebels Catalonia took a foremost part and it was almost the last region of Spain to hold out against the Italian and

Franquist armies, supported by German material and aeroplanes. General Franco, when he at length gained control of Spain, immediately cancelled all the rights and privileges of Catalonia, bringing it into line with the other provinces of Spain, but with perhaps a more intense persecution of its citizens, so many of whom had been in the forefront of the battle for the Republic. Even the Catalan language was in a measure outlawed. Part of the punishment of Catalonia took the form of economic measures intended to destroy its high industrial development.

The area of Catalonia is 12,000 square miles and its population about three millions. It produces cereals, fruit, sheep, goats, pigs, and textile products.

**Central America:** Central America consists of the Spanish-speaking republics of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, and Panama, and the British colony of British Honduras, all of which were once parts of the Spanish colonial empire. Panama (q.v.) seceded from Colombia only in 1904 and has been politically outside the Central American Union movement. These states gained their independence in the early twenties of the nineteenth century. The population consists of Spaniards, American Indians, negroes, and mixed races. The movement for a Central American Union began in 1823 when such a union was formed. It lasted for twenty years. There have since been several other efforts to form such a union. In 1908 a Central American Court of Justice to settle interstate disputes, including the claim of a national of one state against that of another, was established. This came to an end after eight years, Nicaragua having refused to submit to it claims by Costa Rica and Salvador arising out of the Treaty by which Nicaragua ceded to the U.S.A. the land through which the Nicaragua Canal was to have been cut. On 5 June 1945, Guatemala and Salvador combined to form one state and people. There are in force at present a Treaty of Peace and Amity, signed in 1923 but ratified by only Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and a Treaty of Central American Fraternity and an Extradition Convention between the five republics. In Central America, revolutions are as

frequent, if not more so, as general elections in more settled communities.

The area of Central America is 222,674 square miles and the population is estimated at 7,731,000 (1939). Large areas are very sparsely populated. The principal exports are coffee, bananas, valuable timber, and other tropical agricultural products.

**Ceuta:** A Spanish military and convict station and seaport on the north coast of Morocco, at the African end of the Straits of Gibraltar, which it commands. It was taken by the Portuguese from the Moors in 1415 and passed to the Spaniards in 1580. Ceuta is now contiguous to Spanish Morocco. There have at times been suggestions for its exchange for Gibraltar (q.v.).

**Chaco Dispute, The:** The frontier between Bolivia and Paraguay had never been fixed since they became independent states at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The region in the north of Paraguay bordering on Bolivia was to a large extent unexplored and unoccupied by either Power, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the extent of this unoccupied region was largely reduced by the advance of both Bolivia and Paraguay. The Chaco Boreal which forms a part of the still unoccupied or very lightly occupied region was claimed by both parties. From 1879 there were several agreements for a settlement, but in every instance one party or the other—in one both parties—failed to ratify the agreement. At length, in February 1927, a series of serious incidents began with the capture of a Paraguayan patrol outside a Bolivian fort. Other incidents followed and the Council of the League of Nations intervened. At their instance the American International Conference which was sitting in Washington at the time, endeavoured to bring the two Governments to an agreement. After negotiations that lasted nearly four years Paraguay withdrew from them on the ground that Bolivia was not observing the *status quo*. War between the two states then broke out again. At this point the dispute came again before the League of Nations. Another attempt at conciliation was made by the American Powers in 1935, and this was successful. A peace conference



capital of China was transferred from Peking to Nanking in October 1928. Unsettlement and fighting, however, still continued. The Communists had, some time earlier, been expelled from the Kuomintang, but their strength had nevertheless greatly increased, and at one time there seemed a risk that they would gain control of the country.

It was in Manchuria, where Japan enjoyed a privileged position, that the reawakening of the Japanese menace occurred. The first overt step was taken on the night of 18-19 September 1931, when the Japanese seized Mukden, the capital. They soon had complete control of the entire country, which they renamed Manchukuo (q.v.), and over which they appointed a puppet ruler. The charge of unjustified aggression was referred to the League of Nations, whose Assembly, after investigation by a commission, found the charge proved. Japan ignored the decision: the Chinese retaliated by means of an economic boycott of Japan; the League of Nations found itself powerless. The Japanese then attempted to seize the Chinese city of Shanghai and the Chinese resisted with some success. The Japanese, having occupied the whole of Manchuria, pushed farther into China proper. For eighteen months the fighting continued, sporadically, the Japanese always advancing and occupying more territory. At length, in May 1933, a truce was arranged. By this China tacitly, although not specifically, acknowledged the new status of Manchukuo. For a few years China and Japan were at peace, but Japanese aggression did not cease on this account. Their advance continued, Chinese administration being forced step by step out of the border provinces. At the same time, in the spring of 1934, Japan declared the whole of China to be reserved for Japanese development and influence. The new war between Japan and China broke out in July 1937 in an incident between Japanese and Chinese troops outside Peking. The Japanese had by that date penetrated peacefully as far as the old Chinese capital. Other incidents followed, and a war which ultimately became merged in the greater Anglo-German one began to develop. In this war the advance of the Japanese was almost continuous, but the Chinese, under Chiang Kai-shek and his

heroic wife, resisted foot by foot, destroying everything they had to abandon and harassing the Japanese as they advanced by the guerrilla bands, at times almost armies, that sprang up behind them. Nanking, the new Chinese capital, and Shanghai, its greatest port, both fell to the Japanese, as did also the whole of the Chinese seaboard. The occupation by the Japanese of Burma early in 1942 cut off from China practically the whole of her European and American sources of supply and Russia's absorption in her war with Germany reduced almost to nothing her opportunities for giving similar assistance.

Throughout the war with Japan the Chinese Government and the Chinese forces fell into two parts. Apart from those of the Kuomintang, which have already been mentioned, there were those of the Communists, centred in Yen-an, between whom and the Central Government relations have always been strained, at times to the point of civil war. In fact, the Communists have accused the Kuomintang of being more hostile to them than to the Japanese, and of having occasionally joined the latter in attacks on the former. The Communists have in the meanwhile been in control of a considerable portion of north-west China, with an army numbering as many as 600,000 responsible to them alone. In their region they introduced a Soviet system of government, at the same time complaining vociferously of the one-party system of government in force in the remainder of unoccupied China. Recently Chiang Kai-shek's government showed itself more conciliatory. The constitutional reforms it foreshadowed promised the approach to a democratic system, but the Communists were still chary of committing themselves.

With the end of the war with Japan it seemed for a time that the relations between the two parties in China would become very inflamed. At first there was a race between them to settle themselves in the cities about to be surrendered by the Japanese or handed over by the Russians who had occupied the whole of Manchuria and much of Korea. So far as China proper was concerned, Chiang Kai-shek's forces had the advantage, receiving very valuable

transport assistance by sea and by air from the Americans. The Communists hoped for support from Russia, but, somewhat unexpectedly, the Soviet Government made a treaty with Chiang Kai-shek's Government in August of which the principal terms were: (1) Russia agrees to give China moral support and material resources, such aid to be given to General Chian Kai-shek's régime as the Central Government of China. (2) Russia agrees to respect Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. (3) China recognizes the full independence of Outer Mongolia. (4) The railways of Manchuria are to be unified as one railway system, to be jointly owned for 40 years by the U.S.S.R. and China, after which they will revert to China without payment. (5) The Chinese Government agrees to make Dairen a free port of shipping of all nations for 30 years. (6) Port Arthur is to be used jointly by China and Russia as a naval base for 30 years. There is also a provision for the beginning of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Manchuria soon after the formal ending of the war with Japan.

With this treaty the Communist hopes came to an end. Uneasy relations between the two parties continued, but the disputes were no longer between equals. The Moscow Agreement (q.v.) between Britain, the United States, and Russia of December 1945, urged 'a unified and democratic China under the National Government'.

Protracted conferences between the two parties ended early in 1946 when apparently complete agreement was reached. It was decided that a coalition government should be formed and that a new and democratic constitution should then be adopted. Further, a single national army, incorporating divisions of both those of the Communists and the Kuomintang, was agreed on. These terms, although accepted, were never implemented, and disputes, with occasional outbreaks of fighting, continued.

Chinese natural resources are very great, almost inexhaustible, but are developed only to a slight extent. She is the third largest producer of cotton. In silk production also she is in the front rank. Her exports consist mainly of food products, beans and bean products, eggs and egg products,

ground nuts, cereals, seeds, tea, etc., raw silk, and cocoons; silk and cotton piece goods; raw cotton; skins, hides, and leather; coal, iron, tin, antimony, and other minerals; oils, tallow, and wax; chemicals; and paper. The principal customers in 1940 were the U.S.A., the British Empire, including Hong Kong, Japan, and India. Imports came from Japan, the U.S.A., India, the British Empire, and Germany.

See also Extraterritoriality.

**Chrome:** The total production of chrome ore in 1938 was 520,000 tons. Chrome is used in the manufacture of steel, especially stainless steel, and for the protective surface of metals generally. Its compounds are used in the manufacture of dyes, in tanning hides, and in photography. The principal producing countries are Turkey, 107,000 tons; Southern Rhodesia, 91,100; U.S.S.R., about 90,000; Union of South Africa, 79,500; Yugoslavia, 28,000; and New Caledonia, 26,000. Since the outbreak of war its production has been greatly developed. Yugoslavia produced in 1941 some 50,000 tons; Turkey's production probably exceeds 200,000 tons. India has come to the fore as one of the principal producers and both the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have considerably increased their production. The Russian supply has risen to about a quarter of a million tons. Cuba and Brazil have both come forward as producers.

**Class War:** see Communism.

**Clearing Unions, International:** Early in 1943 two plans were put forward, practically simultaneously, for the creation of machinery for the economic organization of the world after the conclusion of hostilities. Neither was in a sense official, certainly not definite, but they both had very considerable weight behind them. Lord Keynes, the author of the Keynes Plan, was an official of the British Treasury; the other, generally known as the Morgenthau or White Plan, was prepared in the office of the United States Secretary of the Treasury.

The main proposals of the Keynes Plan were (a) the establishment of a currency union, based on international bank-money (bancor), fixed, but not unalterably, in terms of gold. (Under this proposal gold would be supplemented

as a governing factor, but not entirely dispensed with.) (b) Each member state would be assigned a quota which should 'determine the measure of its responsibility in the management of the Union and of its right to enjoy the credit facilities provided by the Union'. (c) Member states would agree to accept payment and currency balances, due to them from other members, by a transfer of bancor to their credit in the books of the Clearing Union. Countries having a favourable balance of payments with the rest of the world as a whole would find themselves in possession of a credit account with the clearing union, and those having an unfavourable balance would have a debit account. Measures would be necessary to prevent the piling up of credit and debit balances without limit. The quotas suggested were on a generous scale, 75 per cent of the country's average foreign trade turnover during three pre-war years. The total amount of bancors available would be some 5,000 million pounds.

The American plan proposed the creation of a fund to stabilize the value of currencies of member countries. The fund would fix rates at which it would buy or sell currencies, and changes in exchange rates could be made only with the approval of the fund, and only to meet an extreme situation.

Member countries would subscribe at least £1,250,000,000, making initial payments of one-half of the subscription in the form of gold, currency, and Government securities. Each country's subscription would be based on a combination of such factors as its holdings of gold and foreign exchange, its national income, and changes in its balance of payments position.

The fund would be given power to buy and sell gold, currencies, and, with their approval, securities of the member countries. The fund also could borrow local currencies with the approval of the governments concerned. There would be a new international gold monetary unit (unitas), in terms of which the accounts of the fund would be kept.

The fund would be managed by a board of directors representing the member governments, and each country would have voting power related to its subscription to the fund,

but no country could have more than 25 per cent of the total votes.

Later, in April 1944, a compromise between these two plans was arranged. Under the provisional agreement of Britain, the United States, and Russia, which gave effect to this compromise, the clearing union of the Keynes Plan was abandoned, but the stabilization fund of the Morgenthau one remained. The maximum amount of members' quotas to be contributed to the Fund was fixed at 8,000 million dollars, of which the United States' share was to be double that of the British. The need for exchange flexibility was recognized: if a member state considered a change in its exchange rate essential to safeguard its economic equilibrium, two successive changes of ten per cent each could be made automatically. The gold value of all currencies could be altered by agreement. Under the new scheme all member states were bound to remove exchange restrictions on current account transactions as quickly as possible, the final objective being unrestricted multilateral clearing.

Finally a number of new freedoms, all of them negative, were granted: to maintain exchange control, to abolish gold except as an accounting device to vary the exchange rate, to discriminate against the goods of any country that imports less than is required of it, and to withdraw from the scheme at any time without notice.

The compromise proposals were considered at the Bretton Woods Conference (q.v.).

**Coal:** The world production of coal, excluding lignite and brown coal (q.v.) in 1938 was 1,232,000,000 tons. Of this total 358,013,000 were produced in the U.S.A., 230,658,000 in the United Kingdom, 186,179,000 in Germany, 58,000,000 in Japan, 46,500,000 in France, 38,104,000 in Poland, and 29,585,000 in Belgium.

**Cobalt:** Cobalt is used in the manufacture of ferrous and non-ferrous alloys, in particular certain important steels. It is also employed for colouring purposes. The principal, almost only, source of cobalt was for some time Canada, where extensive deposits were discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century. More recently cobalt has been

discovered in Northern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, and French Morocco, the first-named being now the principal source of supply.

**Coffee:** The world production of coffee in 1939-40 was 22,700,000 quintals (about 38 million bags). Of this 13,240,000 quintals were grown in Brazil, 2,670,000 in Colombia, 1,133,000 in the Netherlands Indies, 670,000 in Salvador, 550,000 in Guatemala, 524,000 in Mexico, 480,000 in Venezuela. In consequence of over-production very large amounts of coffee were destroyed in Brazil over a number of recent years.

**Collective Security:** A system whereby it was hoped to safeguard the security from attack of all states by means of a mutual guarantee. This was inherent in the idea of the League of Nations, which was, however, unable to translate it into fact. The end of all hope of Collective Security came with the successful aggression of Italy against Abyssinia in 1936 and the failure of the other Powers, despite their obligations under the Covenant of the League, to prevent it.

See also San Francisco Conference.

**Comintern, The:** (properly the Third (Communist) International): The international organization of the Communist Party. The Third International was a development of the First and Second Internationals, the former of which was founded in London by Marx and Engels in 1864, and the latter came to an end with the outbreak of war in 1914. It differed from these mainly in organization. The Third International owed its existence to a large extent to the German military leaders in 1918, who believed that it would disintegrate the Russian state and armies and thus facilitate a Germany victory. To this end they arranged for the return to Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, the extreme Communist leaders, by whom the Third International was founded in March 1919. The purpose of the Third International was to bring about a world revolution of a communist character. To this end the bourgeois parties must be treated as enemies for whom there can be no quarter. Even the Socialists can at the best be only temporary allies. For the Third International they were far too moderate. The control of the

movement was very strict and the branches had little liberty except to carry out instructions from the centre (Moscow). The condition of affiliation of the communist parties outside of Russia was a systematic and persistent communist activity inside trade unions, works committees, and other organizations of workmen. At first the International was limited to workers for wages, but it was soon extended to peasants, among whom it became in a sense an agrarian movement and also to Oriental and colonial populations where it developed in part into a movement against European and American exploitation.

The history of the Comintern falls into five stages. The first stage was when the Comintern devoted all its energies to world revolution, expending much effort and money in all countries. The second stage began as soon as Stalin's ascendancy over Trotsky was secure. Trotsky believed that the Russian revolution could not be safe until the Comintern had instigated similar revolutions in all major countries. Stalin's policy was to develop Russia first. The Comintern was still active, but Soviet Russia entered into treaties of various kinds with other countries. The apparent dual policy led to more misunderstandings and suspicions abroad, for few governments were prepared to accept the Soviet assertion that the Comintern was an independent body. The third stage opened when the Comintern proclaimed that, in view of the increasing danger of totalitarian aggression, Communists in each country should co-operate with other freedom-loving groups. The fourth opened with the European war, when still less was heard of the Comintern. The fifth was reached in May 1943, when an announcement, subsequently confirmed, of the forthcoming dissolution of the Comintern was made in Moscow. After the governing organ of the International had met for the last time and the communist parties in other countries had agreed, the Comintern was formally dissolved.

See also Communism; Trotskyism; Anti-Comintern Pact.

**Communism:** An extreme development of Socialism (q.v.) which takes a number of forms, common to all of which are the prohibition of the private ownership of property, except



for the satisfaction of one's personal needs, and the socialization of the means of production. Communism has come to be identified with the cause of the proletariat, the working producers. Its programme is in general defined in Marx and Engel's *Communist Manifesto*. This leads direct to the class war between the Communists and the so-called capitalists, and it has taken this form in Russia, the only state in which a Communist experiment on a nation-wide scale has been made. Communism is closely akin to Syndicalism (q.v.).

See also Comintern; Soviet Republics, Union of.

**Communist International:** see Comintern.

**Concordat, The:** An agreement between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Italy whereby the quarrel which had lasted since the occupation of Rome in 1871 was brought to an end. The Concordat was arranged in 1929, after three years of negotiation.

See Vatican City.

**Condominium:** Joint rule by two or more Powers jointly over a territory. The principal surviving instances are the Sudan (Britain and Egypt) and the New Hebrides (Britain and France).

**Confederation of States:** see Federal State.

**Congo Basin Treaties:** A group of treaties between Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden and Norway, Turkey, and the United States of America, signed at Berlin on 26 February 1885. Their intention was 'primarily to demonstrate the Agreement of the Powers with regard to the general principle which should guide their commercial and civilizing action in the little-known or inadequately organized regions of a continent where slavery and the slave trade still flourished'. The Acts of the Berlin Conference on African affairs denounced slavery and the slave trade, supported religious freedom and missionary and scientific enterprise, and affirmed the policy of the open door (q.v.) in regard to the whole of Central Africa, from the Nile to the Zambezi and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. As a consequence an area of over a million square miles, comprising British, Portuguese, Belgian, French,

German, and independent territories is governed on the principles of free trade and equality of treatment for the subjects of all nations. The United States of America failed to ratify the treaty.

**Congo, Belgian:** Formerly the Congo Free State, a personal appanage of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, who formed the state in 1885. It was originally intended to be an international undertaking, but the interest in the project centred in King Leopold, who financed it almost entirely out of his private funds. With the assistance of the explorer (Sir) H. M. Stanley, an intensive programme of development and colonization was undertaken. The next step was its recognition as an independent state, and this the King secured at the Berlin Congress of 1884-5. No consideration whatever seems to have been given to the interests of the population. After a few years the Government had to fight a war with the powerful Arab chiefs who had long been resident in the territory. In this it was successful. Other troubles with the population, however, followed, and there was more than one proposal for annexation by Belgium. Ivory and rubber were at this period the principal sources of wealth in the region. The insatiable desire to exploit these led to continued impositions on the natives and these impositions increased to such an extent that the administration of the Congo Territory became an international scandal. The agitation against the administration was strengthened by the protests by interested parties against the infringements of the free-trade clauses of the Berlin Act (see Congo Basin Treaties) involved in the policy that was being pursued. Intervention became inevitable, and in this the British Government took the leading part. An international commission of investigation was appointed and its report was followed by the transfer of the state to Belgium as a colony, in 1908.

The Belgian Congo, as the territory has since been known, is governed on the same lines as a British Crown colony, with a Governor-General resident in the capital, Leopoldville. It is bounded by French, British, and Portuguese territory and extends more than half-way across Africa, from

the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Tanganyika. Under the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, some additions of territory were made at the expense of German East Africa, later Tanganyika. The area of the territory is estimated at 902,082 square miles, and the population at about ten and a half millions, of whom about 28,000 are white. Of these under 20,000 are Belgians. The principal products are palm oil, cotton, palm nuts, coffee, copal gum, sugar, timber, maize, and bananas. Copper, gold, diamonds, radium, cobalt, tin, and other minerals are mined. The export of rubber is not large, but is valuable. The supply of hard woods is inexhaustible.

**Constantinople:** see Istanbul.

**Copper:** The world production of copper in 1939 was 2,200,000 tons. Of this, 698,300 were smelted in the U.S.A., 326,400 in Chile, 229,400 in Canada, 215,100 in Northern Rhodesia, 122,600 in the Belgian Congo, 107,000 in the U.S.S.R., and 104,000 in Japan. In addition, 453,300 tons were produced in the U.S.A. from scrap.

**Copper Ore:** The world production of copper ore in 1938 was 2,026,000 tons. Of these, 506,000 were mined in the U.S.A., 351,500 in Chile, 259,100 in Canada, 254,900 in Northern Rhodesia, and 123,900 in the Belgian Congo.

**Copra:** Of copra, the dried, broken kernel of the coco-nut, which is used for the manufacture of soap, margarine, candles, etc., 18,180,000 quintals (about 7,333,000,000 lb.) were exported in 1939. These came from the Philippine Islands (6,646,000 quintals), the Netherlands Indies (5,447,000), Ceylon (1,550,000), British Malaya (1,339,000), and Mozambique (349,000).

**Cotton:** The world production of cotton in 1937-8 was 82,500,000 quintals, or 8,167,500,000 lb. Of this total 41,076,000 quintals were produced in the U.S.A., 10,382,000 in India, 8,546,000 in Russia, 6,357,000 in China, 4,946,000 in Egypt, and 4,498,000 in Brazil. In the following year the reported production fell to 62,900,000 quintals, but revived in 1940-1 to 66,500,000.

**Co-Prosperity Sphere, East Asia:** A Japanese scheme for the organization of all the states of Eastern Asia, including the islands of Melanesia, so that politically and

economically Japan would be supreme among them. The sphere would include not only China, but also French Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya, the Netherlands Indies, and apparently also the Philippines and Burma, and possibly East Asiatic Russia. With the exception of parts of China and Asiatic Russia the whole of this region was overrun by Japan in the early months of the war with the Allied Powers.

**Corfu:** The largest of the Ionian Islands (q.v.), off the coast of Greece opposite Italy. Long a colony of Venice, the island was ceded to the French in 1797. It then alternated between French and other governments, until, by the Treaty of Paris of 1815, it, together with the other Ionian islands, was placed under British protection. In 1864 the islands were voluntarily ceded to the kingdom of Greece. In violation of the neutrality of Greece, and contrary to the wishes of the Greek Government, the remnants of the defeated Serbian and Montenegrin armies, preceded by a French force, took refuge in Corfu in 1916, and the seat of the Serbian Government was also established there. In 1923, Corfu, although unfortified, was suddenly bombarded by the Italians in retaliation for the murder in Greece of three Italian officials. Corfu and other Greek islands were then occupied by the Italians, who did not withdraw until an indemnity had been paid to them.

**Corporate State:** A system of representative government based not on the geographical distribution of the electorate or population, but on calling, members of the different professions, industries, and trades being grouped in corporations by which the governing body of the state should be elected. The system has not yet been put to a practical test, since it has been introduced hitherto only under dictatorships where it is necessarily merely a curtain.

**Corridor, Polish:** A strip of territory connecting Poland proper with the Baltic, taken from Germany and allotted to Poland under the Treaty of Versailles (1919). On the basis of population there was no justification for the transfer which was avowedly for the purpose of giving Poland a port and access to it over its own territory. This transfer of historic German land, inhabited largely by Germans, was

throughout a source of bitterness between Germany and Poland, and was never fully accepted by the Germans. Militarily, the Corridor was indefensible, and was traversed and occupied by the German armies immediately on the outbreak of war in 1939, without hindrance.

**Corsica:** A large island in the Western Mediterranean, lying between Sardinia and Southern France. In the Middle Ages it was an Italian dependency. The French first interested themselves in Corsica in 1553, and in alliance with the Turks had almost subjugated the island when the Emperor went to the assistance of the Genoese defenders. Again, in 1732, the Emperor came to the assistance of the Genoese against whom the Corsicans had revolted. Three years later the Corsicans were successful and established an independent state with a German adventurer as king. His reign lasted only a few months. Attempts at a settlement with the Genoese failed, and in 1737 the King of France undertook to bring peace and order to the island. France in this was more anxious to keep the British out than to occupy the island herself and the French policy was to restore Genoese rule there. To this the Corsicans would not agree and a French garrison had to remain in the island.

The ultimate withdrawal of the French led to another revolt of the Corsicans against the Genoese. A new French invasion followed after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. A period of alternate chaos and French armed intervention on behalf of Genoa continued. In the end, in 1768, Genoa sold the island to France. It took over a year to conquer the island and then another year passed before the Corsicans accepted Louis XV as their king. At the French Revolution of 1789 Corsica was incorporated in France as one of its departments. As an integral part of France it has since remained. In French sentiment it holds a high position as the birthplace of Napoleon. In very recent years only, as a part of the Italian Fascist campaign against France, has the Italian claim to Corsica arisen. In the island itself it has found no echo. Economically Corsica is very backward, but it includes a valuable naval station.

**Crete:** A large island in the Eastern Mediterranean,

formerly Ottoman territory, but after a series of rebellions, ceded to Greece in 1906, after armed intervention by the Great Powers and a preliminary period of Greek administration while the island remained a part of the Ottoman Empire. The cession was confirmed by the Treaty of London of 1913 at the conclusion of the war of the Balkan Powers against Turkey.

**Crimea Conference:** see Yalta Conference.

**Croatia:** Croatia has always been a somewhat indefinite term. For the greater part of its history it has meant merely a land inhabited by Croats, a Slavonic people. On the break-up of the Roman Empire it became a part of the Western Empire and for 181 years (910 to 1091) it was an independent kingdom. In 1091 the King of Hungary took possession of Croatia and with the Hungarians it remained until 1526. In that year the Turks conquered the country and held it until 1718, when Austria took most of it from the Turks. In the Holy Roman Empire its constitutional position often changed, but as a rule its people enjoyed some measure of autonomy. Its boundaries also often varied. The advent of Napoleon in 1809 transferred Croatia to France. In 1814, after the defeat of Napoleon, Croatia became again a part of Hungary, preserving, however, its local autonomy. After 1840 began the movement for the union in one state of the Southern Slavs, in particular the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In the year 1848 the Croats revolted against Hungary, and in the civil war between Austria and Hungary that ensued, sided with the former. Austria was successful, but in the reaction that followed Croatia lost the autonomy she had hitherto enjoyed. In 1868 Croatia was reunited with Hungary, despite the protests of the Croats. In the following years the agitation for a Greater Croatia, generally as an equal partner with Austria and Hungary, under the Imperial Crown, continued. Ultimately, on the collapse of the Empire in 1918, Croatia was united with Serbia and Slovenia to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later that of Yugoslavia.

The history of the subsequent twenty-one years was not an easy one. Differences between the Serbs and the Croats

were often acute. The Croats who had for nearly two thousand years been a part of Western Europe found their civilization and outlook very different from those of their eastern partners. It was always understood that in the newly formed kingdom the Croats would have some measure of autonomy, but this did not fit in with the Serbian ideal of centralization, with the Serbs as the senior partner. The relations between the Croats and the Serbs became so strained that there was at times a strong secessionist movement in Croatia. At length, in 1939 the claims of the Croatians were granted. Croatia, whose identity an attempt had been made to destroy by breaking it up into a number of provinces and districts, was again united and a self-governing state, within the framework of Yugoslavia, created. This state had its own parliament and budget and complete autonomy in matters that concerned itself alone. Those of general interest—foreign affairs, army, foreign trade, etc.—were the concern of the Central Government in which the Croats took their share.

With the overrunning of Yugoslavia by Germany and Italy in 1941, the autonomy of Croatia, together with the independence of the greater state, came to an end. A new and independent government was set up in Croatia, a satellite of Germany, and this opened its career by ceding its coast-line to Italy. An Italian prince was appointed King of Croatia, but in consequence of the hostility of his 'subjects', he never appeared among them. Croatia, although it provided Germany with mercenaries, was seething with rebellion.

**Cuba:** The largest island in the West Indies, formerly a Spanish colony, but taken by the U.S.A. in war with Spain in 1898. Until 1902 the island was under American military administration. It was then constituted a republic under United States protection, the United States exercising the right of intervention on the not infrequent occasion of a domestic revolution. In May 1934 a new treaty between the two Powers was signed. This gave Cuba a greater independence than it had hitherto enjoyed, but the United States retained a naval station in the island. Immediately afterwards a reciprocal trade agreement, more favourable to Cuba

than its predecessor, was signed. The area of the Republic of Cuba is 44,164 square miles and its population (1938) 4,227,587, of whom 3,088,809 were white. The staple products are tobacco and sugar, but coffee, cocoa, cereals, and potatoes are also grown. Cuba is the second largest producer of sugar in the world. It exports also fruits and valuable and other timber. Iron ore is widespread. Copper, manganese ore, and chromite are also mined, and gold to a slight extent. Three-quarters of the trade of the island are carried on with the United States of America.

**Currency Declaration, Three Power:** Agreement, on 25 September 1936, between the Governments of Britain, U.S.A., and France, to which Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland afterwards adhered, to co-operate for the furtherance of exchange stability and the freedom of international trade. This agreement was an immediate consequence of the financial and economic embarrassments of the French Government, its inability to avoid devaluation of the franc, and the consequent break-up of the Gold Bloc (q.v.). The parties to the agreement, by means of exchange funds, endeavoured to keep the relationship between their currencies constant, but in this France failed. The Agreement did not bind the parties except to do their utmost to observe its spirit. It was hoped that it would lead to a relaxation of the restrictions on international trade and thus to a general economic improvement, but did so only to a slight extent.

**Curzon Line, The:** A provisional eastern frontier for Poland, drawn at the instance of the Marquess Curzon, British Foreign Minister, by the Supreme Council of the Allies in Paris on 8 December 1919, and excluding from the Polish state territories inhabited mainly by non-Polish populations, for the most part Ukrainians, White Russians, and Lithuanians. The Poles, however, ignored the decision, and with the tacit support of France carried their frontier many miles to the east of the Curzon Line. At the partition of Poland by Germany and Russia in 1939, the Curzon Line was revived, with a few local deviations, to mark the boundary between the German and Russian spheres of occupation.



Later, in polemics between the Soviet and Polish Governments, the Curzon Line was referred to by the former as an appropriate frontier, but rejected by the latter. The Government which Russia installed in Warsaw accepted this decision and Britain and the United States acquiesced.

**Customs Union:** An act whereby two or more contiguous states undertake to form one state for tariff purposes while retaining their sovereignty and independence for all other purposes. The principal customs union hitherto effected, apart from that which developed into the German Empire, was that between Belgium and Luxemburg.

**Cyprus:** An island in the Eastern Mediterranean, off the coast of Syria, until 1914 a part of the Ottoman Empire, although since 1878 in British occupation and under British administration. It was placed in this position in return for a British guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman dominions and an annual tribute was paid to Turkey. Of the estimated population in 1938 of 376,529, the great majority were members of the Orthodox Church and Greek in race, and there has always been a strong movement for union with Greece. On the outbreak of war between Britain and Turkey in 1914, Cyprus was annexed to the British Empire. In 1925 it was given the status of a colony under a Governor with Executive and Legislative Councils, but as a consequence of disturbances and the pro-Hellenic movement, the Legislative Council was suppressed in 1931. It has since been replaced by an advisory council, the majority of whose members are non-officials. The movement for union with Greece was greatly encouraged by the successful end of the war in 1918, the promise of self-determination for all peoples and the prospective aggrandizement of Greece.

**Cyrenaica:** see Libya.

**Czechoslovakia:** Republic in Central Europe comprising the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and part of Silesia, formerly in Austria, and Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia, formerly a part of Hungary,<sup>1</sup> which came into

<sup>1</sup> The extent of Czechoslovakia and the names of the neighbouring states as stated here were correct as before the partition of Munich in 1938.

existence on 28 October 1918 on the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and was formally recognized on 10 September 1919 in the Treaty of St. Germain. Czechoslovakia is surrounded by Germany, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Austria. The form of government is that of a democratic republic under an elected president and a parliament of two chambers. All citizens over twenty-one enjoy the franchise. Of the total population of 14,729,536 (1934) there were 3,281,688 of German race, 691,923 of Hungarian, and 549,169 of Russian and Ukrainian, all former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There were treaties of alliance between Czechoslovakia and France and Russia for mutual assistance, and with the other Powers of the Little Entente (q.v.) for mutual assistance against attack by Hungary. The principal anxiety of Czechoslovakia was the threat of attack or intervention by Germany on the excuse of the treatment of the German Minority, the Sudeten-Deutsch (see Sudetenland). Hungary also was dissatisfied with the loss of some of her former territory and citizens, and their possible recovery was encouraged spasmodically, but not too emphatically by Germany and Italy. There was also some tension with Poland over the Polish Minority (81,737) and frontier questions. The threats against the integrity of Czechoslovakia became intensified from 1938 onwards. In the summer of that year Germany began to press for the incorporation of the Sudetenland, whose population was mainly of the German race, although it had never been a part of the German Empire. Britain and France intervened, but after the Munich Agreement (q.v.) with Germany they turned on Czechoslovakia, whose integrity they had in the one case specifically, in the other incidentally, guaranteed, and forced its Government to yield to the German demands. Those increased while the discussions were in course. Simultaneously a movement for autonomy arose among the clerical party of Slovakia, and there were fissiparous activities also among the Magyar and Polish groups. The Anglo-French plan, which the Czechoslovakian Government was forced to accept, comprised the cession to Germany of all territory claimed by her to be inhabited by Germans. Britain and France, however,

guaranteed at the same time the integrity of the new frontier. Germany's increased demands, which included the right of passage across Czechoslovakia, were conceded. The Polish and Hungarian demands then came forward for satisfaction. These comprised cessions of territory, Teschen to Poland; parts of Slovakia and Ruthenia to Hungary. These also had to be granted under threats. The total losses of Czechoslovakia of this year were, to Germany 10,900 square miles, with a population of 3,600,000, the majority German; to Poland 770 square miles, with a population of 240,000, the majority Czechs and Slovaks; to Hungary 4,630 square miles, with a population of 1,040,000, the majority Magyars. The area of Czechoslovakia was by these losses reduced from 54,244 square miles to 38,189, and its population from 15,239,000 to 10,300,000. Germany was, however, still unsatisfied. Although the number of Germans left in Czechoslovakia was negligible, Germany continued to interfere in its affairs, Britain and France looking on helplessly. In the earlier negotiations they had ostentatiously ignored Russia, whose sympathies had throughout been strongly with the victim. Germany, on her part, openly encouraged treasonable elements within the state. In the end, in March 1939, German troops entered the country and a German protectorate was declared. The disintegration of the Czechoslovakian state followed.

On the outbreak of war in 1939, Eduard Beneš, the President of the Republic, who had been driven into exile by the Germans, announced the adhesion of all free Czechs and Slovaks to the Allied cause. A Czechoslovak army was formed and the Czechoslovak National Committee was constituted with headquarters in Paris, removing later to London. Later (21 July 1940) Beneš was recognized by the Allies as legal President of the Republic and the National Committee became a provisional government.

Relations between Czechoslovakia and the Union of Soviet Republics had always been friendly, and the Union had been anxious to support Czechoslovakia at the time of the German threats and the Munich surrender, but had been discouraged and hindered by Britain and France. After the final breach

between Russia and Germany the relations which had during the interlude of the Russo-German alliance ceased, were resumed and again became cordial. The consummation took the form of a treaty of alliance signed on 12 December 1943. It guaranteed friendship, mutual assistance, and post-war co-operation between the two contracting parties. Czechoslovakian regiments had already been fighting against the Germans, in the Russian armies. Under the treaty neither Power was to make peace with Germany except by mutual agreement, and in the event of any subsequent war with Germany or any of her allies, both Powers undertook to support one another. On the re-establishment of peace the two Powers undertook to respect one another's independence and sovereignty, not to interfere with the internal affairs of the other party, and to co-operate in the economic field. The treaty was to remain in force for a minimum period of twenty years. By a protocol to the treaty, neighbouring states which had been victims of German aggression were given the opportunity of acceding to the treaty. This was understood to apply in particular to Poland. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the German yoke, President Beneš and his Government returned to their country. The President at once announced a reformed constitution which would give a considerable measure of decentralization and self-government to Slovakia and incidentally also to Bohemia. Similar decentralization was promised to Ruthenia (q.v.), but a different future was in store for that region. It was shortly afterwards announced that the people of Ruthenia desired incorporation in the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, one of the Union of Soviet Republics. The Government of Czechoslovakia acquiesced in this and Ruthenia thereupon ceased to be a part of the Czechoslovakian state. So far as the large section of the population of Czechoslovakia that was of German blood was concerned, the policy of the Government was unequivocal. It was one of expulsion to Germany, anti-Nazis as well as National Socialists. This policy was at once put into effect and steps taken to replace the exiles by other Czechoslovak citizens.

The principal products of Czechoslovakia are lignite, coal, potatoes, steel, barley, pig-iron, rye, wheat, and oats. It is rich in industries and its mineral wealth is of great importance.

See also Sudetenland; Teschen.

**Dacoits:** Indian robbers or brigands, strictly speaking, working in gangs of at least five individuals. In Burma the guerrillas who continued their attacks on the British after the annexation of the kingdom in 1885 were also termed dacoits.

**Dakar:** A port, which with its surroundings, was formed in 1924 into a special territory or 'circonscription', under the Governor of the French colony of Senegal. It is the only port of French West Africa that offers safe anchorage for the largest ships. It is powerfully fortified and is in a strong strategic position, commanding the routes to South Africa and Brazil. Dakar is the nearest point in Africa to South America and is within easy air-range of Brazil. On the submission of France in 1940 the Government at Vichy kept, or more properly gained, control of Dakar. The presence of possible hostile forces there was an obvious threat to the British, who sent 'Free' French forces with naval support to take possession of the port. The 'Vichy' French, who had got there in advance, resisted the newcomers and compelled them to withdraw. In the German submarine campaign in the Atlantic submarines were strongly suspected of obtaining supplies at Dakar and of using it as a base.

**Dalmatia:** The coastland on the east of the Adriatic; until the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, a kingdom of that empire. The coast is very much broken and there are many islands close to it. Hence, the naval advantages in time of war of the occupying power are very considerable. The population is mainly Slav, but the history of the region was for a long period that of a dependancy of Venice. The claims given by these two facts led to an intense diplomatic contest between Italy and Yugoslavia. By the Treaty of Rapallo of 1920 between these two Powers the greater part of Dalmatia was given to the new kingdom of the Southern Slavs, but the capital, Zara, and its district where the Italians were in a majority, went to Italy. Italy,

however, never gave up entirely the hope of acquiring the whole of Dalmatia, together with what she considered the remainder of the Italian inheritance. Until 1937 her relations with Yugoslavia were not of the best and the friction that occasionally occurred was fed in part on the alleged Dalmatian Question. In 1937, however, an agreement was reached between the two Powers. One of the points of this agreement was that Italy should respect the Yugoslavian frontiers and this was interpreted as the abandonment of all claims to Dalmatia. In 1941 Italy, with German assistance, overran Dalmatia and later annexed part of it.

**Danube Commission:** The European Commission of the Danube was formed under the Treaty of Paris of 1856. It then consisted of representatives of Austro-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Rumania, Russia, and Turkey. In 1921, by the Convention of the Danube, this representation was limited to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania. In March 1939 Germany was added and in September of the following year Germany summoned a conference at Vienna at which the two existing commissions, one for the Lower Danube, the other for the Upper, were abolished in favour of a single commission, the members of which were Germany, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Russia, which had recently become again a riparian Power by the acquisition of Bessarabia, protested strongly against being left out, and was added a few weeks later. In the previous August, by an agreement reached at Sinaia in Rumania, many of the powers of the Commission and the whole of its fleet had been transferred to the Rumanian state. The functions of the Commission before this transfer consisted of the control of the navigation of the river. With the transfer all such control from Braila to the sea passed to Rumania.

**Danubian Pact:** A project for an agreement between the Little Entente (q.v.) and Hungary and Austria. The Little Entente was anxious for such an agreement and Austria also was favourably disposed, but Austria was largely dependent on Italy, which on its part was passing into the Nazi orbit. Germany, with her designs against Austria, had no

desire for her to obtain support elsewhere. Any Danubian pact to which Italy's protégés, Austria and Hungary, were parties was therefore automatically vetoed.

**Danzig:** Free city and district on the Baltic Sea, formerly a part of the German Empire and one of its principal ports, but ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and constituted by them on 15 November 1920. Its area was about 754 square miles and its population (1939) about 391,000 (almost entirely German). Its constitution provided for an Executive Senate and an elected Volkstag and could not be altered except by a two-thirds majority of its governing body. The Nationalist Socialist (Nazi) Party, although in a majority, was never able to secure two-thirds of the legislature in a free election, but by suppression and expulsion of all members of opposition parties, and by other acts of terrorism it gained complete control of the Government by which means legislation in line with that of the German Reich was adopted and the Free City made, in effect, although not formally, a part of Germany. Danzig was nominally under the protection of the League of Nations, by which a High Commissioner was appointed. This official was, however, completely ignored by the Nazi Government and was without power or influence. Danzig's foreign interests were, under its constitution, the charge of Poland, with which she had a customs union. As time passed the control of the German National Socialists over Danzig became more thorough and their demands more menacing. The crisis came in the year 1939, and led to a public warning by the British Foreign Minister that Britain would be at the side of Poland in the event of any further attack on the rights of that state in Danzig or elsewhere. The warning, being without effect, was repeated after a short interval by the Prime Minister. These warnings followed a formal demand by Herr Hitler for the cession of Danzig to the German Reich. German demands, however, became more insistent, and on 29 August Herr Hitler called for the immediate presence in Berlin of a Polish representative to sign away all Polish rights in Danzig. On 1 September Germany invaded Poland and the Second World War had

commenced. At its conclusion the city and district were incorporated in Poland.

**Dardanelles:** see Montreux Convention.

**Dawes Plan:** see Reparations.

**Debts, Inter-Allied:** The debts due among the Allied and Associated Powers to one another at the conclusion of the World War of 1914 to 1918; the principal creditors were the U.S.A., Britain, and France, but Britain and France were also heavily in debt. These debts were for the most part incurred in making war purchases in the creditor countries. The total debt to the U.S.A., including loans to newly created and certain ex-enemy states, was 11,872,596,524 dollars, of which 4,600,000,000 were due from Great Britain, 4,025,000,000 from France, and 2,042,000,000 from Italy. At the end of the war £2,185,764,000 was due to Great Britain, of which France owed £608,226,000, Russia £783,000,000, and Italy £570,000,000. Russia owed France 7,425,161,000 francs and 10,533,145 gold roubles. Italy owed France 1,145,737,000 francs, but against that she had a counter-claim for 292,380,000 lire. Russia also owed Italy 36,045,000 lire. Belgium owed £128,500,000 to Britain, 379,087,200 dollars to the U.S.A., and 3,460,947,042 francs to France, but these debts of Belgium were, it was agreed, to be a first charge on any reparations paid by Germany.

Before the last of the loans had been made it was clear that very great difficulties must arise in the course of their repayment, and it was not long before it was recognized that in some cases repayment was impossible. Very early in the consideration, the British Government, foreseeing the troubles the Debts would bring on the world, proposed a general cancellation, but to this the United States would not agree. Apart from the Inter-Allied Debts there were the reparations (q.v.) due by the ex-enemy states, whose total had never been estimated. An Inter-Ally conference to consider the subject of these reparations was held in May 1920, and it was quickly realized that the two subjects were very closely connected.

The first step taken by a government was that by the



United States, whose legislature, in February 1922, authorized the funding of the Debts due to it on a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent basis with a currency of not more than twenty-five years. Shortly afterwards the British Government issued the Balfour Note which, after stating that a cancellation of all debts would be preferable, announced that she would require from her allies and Germany together only sufficient to enable her to pay her debt to the United States. This meant the reduction of her claim against her debtors by 75 per cent. At an Inter-Allied conference in London in December 1922, France offered to transfer to Britain in full settlement part of her own claims against other states. Italy proposed the cancellation of part of Germany's debt under the treaty if Britain would cancel the debts of her allies to her. Neither offer was accepted. In the meanwhile an agreement was negotiated between the British and United States Governments by which the total of the British debt should be paid over a period of sixty-two years, and in June 1923 the first payment under that scheme was made. The United States intimated to the other debtors that it desired settlements on similar lines. There was, however, no response from the principal debtors, but agreements were made with Finland, Hungary, Lithuania, and Poland. After further pressure further agreements were made on more favourable terms to the debtors. The only states that made no agreements were Russia and Greece.

With regard to the debts to Britain, France came to an agreement whereby the total of her nominal indebtedness was very considerably reduced and payments began in July 1929. Favourable terms were also granted to the other debtors, Belgium paid her reduced debt in full, but Russia made no move. The result of these settlements was that Britain would, if the agreements had been observed, have paid her debts in full, but have received only a part of the sums due to her, less than half of that which she was bound to pay. If the Germans had paid the reduced total for which they were liable under the Dawes scheme (q.v.) two-thirds of it would have gone to the United States.

The economic crisis of 1931, however, brought all of these

arrangements to an end. This crisis forced the United States to agree to a moratorium, the Hoover Moratorium, which covered both German reparations and the Inter-Allied debts. The moratorium was to have ended in July 1933. One or two instalments were paid by Britain and a few of the smaller Powers, but no general payments were ever resumed. The debtor Powers pleaded their inability to make them. The United States Government did not accept this contention, but had no means of compelling payment. The British and French Governments asked for a reconsideration of the whole subject. The one exception was Finland, that paid until the outbreak of war in 1939 the instalments as they fell due, but her total debt was at the beginning only nine million dollars.

**Denmark:** Denmark has been an independent kingdom of Northern Europe, a part of Scandinavia, since the eighth century, and an hereditary monarchy since 1660. Until 1814 Norway was closely attached to Denmark, first with a subservient status, later as an equal partner under a king in common. By the Treaty of Kiel of that year Denmark, which had been forced in the Anglo-Napoleonic War into the arms of the French, was compelled to surrender Norway to Sweden. The complicated subject of Schleswig-Holstein (q.v.) led to war with Prussia in 1864. Denmark was quickly defeated and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were ceded to Prussia. By the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 the northern portion of this territory, in which a Danish population predominated, was restored to Denmark. After the rise of National Socialism in Germany, a movement artificial and inspired from beyond the frontier, for the retrocession to Germany of the remainder of Schleswig-Holstein arose. The end came in April 1940, when Germany suddenly invaded Denmark and the whole of the kingdom passed under German control.

See also Iceland; Scandinavia.

**Disarmament:** The Covenant of the League of Nations foreshadowed 'the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations'. The

League of Nations, with a view to attaining this end, appointed a Preparatory Disarmament Commission which produced on 9 December 1930 a Draft Disarmament Convention to serve as a basis for discussion by a General Disarmament Conference. The draft laid down that the size of the maximum military force should be indicated for every state and a maximum period of military service for conscripts appointed. The size of the military and naval budgets of the several states, the maximum naval tonnage, the maximum size and armament of capital and other ships, and the number and horse-power of military aeroplanes and of aeroplanes capable of use for military purposes should also be agreed to. To enable the proposed convention to become effective, provision was to be made for the free supply of information on relative matters to the Powers interested. The Contracting Parties should, moreover, undertake to abstain from the use in war of harmful gases, liquids, and 'analogous substances or processes', and from the use of all bacteriological methods of warfare. If any of the Contracting Powers found its national security threatened, the conditions limiting its means of defending itself might be suspended temporarily, the Permanent Disarmament Commission to be set up, being informed of such action. This draft convention was not adopted unanimously. The U.S.S.R. voted against it on the ground that it did not go far enough; the German representative on the ground that it contained no provision for the termination of the inequality of military status imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles.

The draft was referred to a conference which met in February 1932. In the meanwhile an Arms Truce was achieved at the Twelfth Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1931. This truce, that is, the suspension of all programmes for new armaments, was adopted at the instance of the Italian representative, and remained in force until the Disarmament Conference came to an end.

The Conference of 1932 continued desultorily throughout the year. At one time a deadlock arose through the incompatibility of the respective German and French points of view in which the balance of sympathy was probably with

the former. The Germans demanded that some effective move should be made towards fulfilling the promise given in the Covenant of the League of Nations that an appreciable measure of disarmament should be general, and threatened to withdraw from the Conference if their contention was not accepted. The French, on their part, preferred to keep their armaments and the relative inferiority of German undiminished. The situation had eased sufficiently by December, the French being somewhat less intransigent, for the signature of a Declaration by the representatives of Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Italy, and Germany that one of the principles that should guide the Conference should be the grant to Germany and the other defeated Powers of 'equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations'. The four European signatories also reaffirmed their intention in no circumstances to resort to force in the settlement of difficulties, provided the other European Powers made a similar affirmation. Unfortunately this Declaration of 11 December 1932 was a false promise and the Conference, when it met again in the following month, soon discovered that this was so. France proved still determined to refuse to agree to any reduction of her armaments unless she was assured of the active support of all the Powers, parties to the desired agreement, in the event of her being involved in war. By March the Conference was in a critical state. The British Government made great efforts to save it from complete failure. The Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary proceeded to Geneva with a new plan—a compromise—breaking their journey for long conversations in Paris. National Socialism, encouraged by the failure to get any adhesion to the German point of view at the Disarmament Conference, had meanwhile been growing stronger and stronger in Germany and had secured power there. At every step in this growth the German attitude at Geneva became more stubborn. The Germans rejected the British compromise, which had obtained American support without even giving the French an opportunity of doing so. An address by Hitler to the Reichstag on 17 May 1933 relieved the situation somewhat and hope revived again for a moment.

The situation, however, again grew steadily worse. Germany, despite the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, began openly to rearm and every step forward on her part had its reaction in France. At length, on 14 October the German Foreign Minister announced the final withdrawal of Germany from the Disarmament Conference and also from the League of Nations. With that announcement the great effort for international disarmament in effect came to an end.

In the Conference a deadlock arose between Great Britain, the United States, the Oslo Group, and Spain on the one side, and France, the Soviet Union, Turkey, the Little Entente, and the Balkan Bloc on the other. The former were anxious for some agreement no matter how modest. The latter considered that further measures of security were a necessary preliminary to any agreement. In the end the Conference petered out.

**Dobrudja:** Region in south-eastern Europe, enclosed between the lower reaches of the Danube, and the Black Sea, which has for long been an object of contest between the Rumanians and the Bulgars. It includes Constanza, the principal port of Rumania, and also the terminus of the pipeline from the Rumanian oilfields. Until 1878 the Dobrudja was a part of the Ottoman Empire, but by the Treaty of Berlin of that year the northern portion was allotted to Rumania in payment for the assistance the Rumanians had given to Russia in the war with Turkey. Russia, however, at the same time annexed the Rumanian province of Bessarabia, a far more desirable acquisition. The southern portion of the Dobrudja became a part of the Principality of Bulgaria. By the Treaty of Bucharest of 10 August 1913, after the invasion by Rumania of Bulgaria, then involved in war with Serbia and Greece, the remainder of the Dobrudja was annexed by Rumania. Five years later, by another Treaty of Bucharest, the whole of the Dobrudja was annexed by the Central Powers which had overrun and defeated Rumania. The southern portion was then restored to Bulgaria and the northern portion administered by Germany and Austria jointly. The port of Constanza was left to Rumania. After the defeat of the Central Powers the

whole of the Dobrudja was restored to Rumania by the Treaty of Neuilly (27 November 1919). Bulgaria having ranged herself by the side of Germany in 1940 the question of the Dobrudja came up again. By agreement with Rumania acting under German pressure, the frontier of 1912 was restored and the Southern Dobrudja became again a part of Bulgaria.

**Dodecanese:** The twelve islands off the coast of Asia Minor, also known as the Sporades,<sup>1</sup> the principal of which are Rhodes and Cos. The population is 87 per cent Christian and of Greek blood, although the islands were for centuries under Ottoman rule. The remaining 13 per cent is almost entirely Moslem—principally of Turkish origin. Previous to the Ottoman conquest in 1523, Rhodes had been the headquarters of the Knights of St. John, after their expulsion from Palestine and their temporary residence in Cyprus. The other islands also came under the sway of the Knights. Under the Turks the Dodecanese were known as 'the privileged islands', since, although a part of the Ottoman Empire, they retained their 'ancient privileges' and enjoyed a certain amount of local autonomy.

During the Balkan war of 1912 the Greek fleet liberated neighbouring islands, and it seemed that 'the privileged islands' would be similarly freed, but Italy, which was independently at war with Turkey, got in advance and seized these islands and also Rhodes. Italy announced its occupation as merely provisional, and it was taken as a matter of course that at the end of the war the islands would be joined to the Kingdom of Greece. Under the first Treaty of Lausanne (15 October 1912) Italy undertook to evacuate the islands. In the meanwhile, however, the Great War broke out and in the Secret Treaty, in which Italy undertook to join Britain and France, these allies, despite their earlier support of Greek claims, agreed to the annexation of the islands by Italy. Later, however (29 July 1919), Italy undertook to transfer all rights in the islands, except Rhodes, which was to have local autonomy, to Greece. This cession

<sup>1</sup> The Dodecanese do not comprise all of the Sporades and Rhodes is not properly one of them.

depended on the ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres, which in the event Turkey refused to ratify. Ultimately, by the second Treaty of Lausanne, full possession of the islands was granted to Italy. Henceforth they have been governed as Italian colonies.

With the end of the Second World War in 1945, the question of the disposal of the Dodecanese came up again for consideration. After the withdrawal of opposition by Soviet Russia, who, despite the fact that there is not a single Slav among the inhabitants of the Islands, and they have never been Slav territory, would like to possess them as strategic bases had been overcome, it was agreed (in June 1946) to transfer them to Greece.

**Druzes, The:** A religious sect and nationality now settled mainly in Jebel Druze in Syria, and in the Lebanon, but also with villages in Palestine and Transjordan. The Druzes observe a mysterious religion, apparently containing elements drawn from a number of sources, but closer to Islam than to any of the others, of which little is known. The Druzes were originally settled in the Lebanon, but continual wars with their neighbours, the Maronites, who were supported by the French, forced them in the end to emigrate to a new land, the Hauran, where they created the community of the Jebel Druze. The Druzes have always been the principal pro-British element in Syria and have always looked forward to British protection. Jealous of their independence or autonomy, they revolted against the French in 1925, and for a time had some success. After the suppression of the revolt in the following year their leaders fled to Transjordan, to live under British protection. After some years they were pardoned by the French and returned to Syria. The constitutional position of the Jebel Druze under the French Mandate underwent many variations, but in all of them, until the grant of independence to Syria in 1941, they were under close French rule. Sometimes there was an independent state of Jebel Druze; at others it was part of Greater Syria. When an independent state of Syria was constituted in 1941 Jebel Druze was included in it, with a considerable measure of autonomy.

**Dumbarton Oaks Conference:** A conference of representatives of the Governments of Britain, the U.S.A., the Union of Soviet Republics, and China (at the first part of the conference the representatives of China were not present; they took subsequently the place of those of the Union of Soviet Republics), held at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, U.S.A., from 21 August to 7 October 1944, on the means of maintaining international peace and security on the conclusion of the World War then raging. These representatives had no power to take final decisions. Their purpose was, if possible, to reach an agreed policy and then to submit their joint report to their respective governments. The Conference recommended the creation of a new organization, 'The United Nations', to take the place of the League of Nations (q.v.). The purposes of this organization should be (a) to maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means the adjustment or settlement of international disputes which might lead to a breach of the peace; (b) to develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace; (c) to achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems; and (d) to provide a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

'Membership of the Organization should be open to all peace-loving states.' The 'sovereign equality' of its members is recognized, but they are required to undertake to give every assistance to the organization in any action it might undertake. Further, 'The Organization should ensure that states, not members of the Organization, shall act in accordance with its principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security'. The organs of the United Nations should be (a) a general assembly, consisting of representatives of all its members; (b) a security council, consisting of representatives of the four principal



Powers and 'in due course' France, with permanent seats, and of six other states, to be elected for two years; (c) an International Court of Justice; and (d) a Secretariat. An Economic and Social Council, subsidiary to the General Assembly, should absorb the functions of the economic and financial and some of the social sections of the League of Nations. The Security Council should be in permanent session and should be advised on military matters by a committee of the Chiefs of Staff of the principal Powers. The constituent states should undertake to keep available specific forces, in particular of the Air, for the service of the Organization. The main, practically the whole, power, would rest in the Security Council, and in particular its permanent members. The powers of the General Assembly are to be inconsiderable. It was found impossible to reach any agreement on what would happen in the event of aggression by one of the principal Powers.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were subsequently considered at the San Francisco Conference (q.v.).

**Dyarchy:** Government by two rulers simultaneously. The classic instance is that of the constitution of India under which the spheres of government are divided between 'reserved' and 'transferred'. With regard to the former the Governor acts with the assistance of a nominated executive council, with regard to the latter, with Indian ministers responsible to elected councils. The Governor-General and the Central Government are responsible only to the British Government and Parliament.

**Economic Conference, World:** An economic conference held in London in 1933 to consider means of alleviating the economic and financial difficulties from which the world was suffering. The Conference met in the midst of a banking panic in the U.S.A., and it was obvious, as the American Secretary of State himself said, that one of the essential means of alleviating the situation was an all-round reduction of import tariffs, of which those of the United States were among the highest. The United States Secretary of State came to London apparently with instructions to that effect, but while he was on his way political pressure was

brought to bear and his instructions were cancelled. With the refusal of the U.S.A. to co-operate no effective measures were possible and the Conference adjourned not to meet again.

**Economic and Social Council:** See Dumbarton Oaks Conference; San Francisco Conference.

**Egypt:** British interest in Egypt dates from the end of the eighteenth century, but for almost the whole of the subsequent century French interest was paramount there, and as a consequence there were not infrequent Franco-British diplomatic differences. The cutting of the Suez Canal which became the high-road to India, Australia, and the Far East greatly increased those interests. In 1882 internal disorders led to British armed intervention, the French declining to join. The occupation that followed was declared to be only temporary, but a British garrison still remains in Egypt. Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), who was appointed British Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent in 1884, was in effect the dictator. He, with the assistance of British officials, reorganized the finances and administration of the country. An Egyptian cabinet continued, but its members had far less power than their British advisers, who were appointed by Lord Cromer. Lord Cromer retired in April 1907. Before he did so the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (q.v.) which had been lost in 1885 was recovered and placed under an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, and the hostility of the French Government which had been latent, occasionally active, throughout the period of the British occupation was appeased by an agreement in 1904 whereby France disinterested herself in Egypt in return for a free hand in Morocco.

There was the beginning of a nationalist movement, one of Egypt for the Egyptians, before Lord Cromer's retirement. This gathered greater force after that event, which coincided with the opening of a new policy of extending to the Egyptians a measure of self-government. *Pari passu* with the extension, however, Nationalism, a demand for independence, grew. Extremists among the Nationalists also had recourse to violence to assist, as they thought, towards their ends.

Hitherto Egypt was still theoretically a part of the Ottoman Empire, although it had for almost a century been in effect independent of that Power, and for more than a generation in British occupation and under British protection. The outbreak of war between Britain and Turkey in November 1914 brought this anomalous situation to an end and Britain at once (18 December) proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt. The Khedive or ruler of Egypt, who was at the time in Turkey and was suspected of pro-Turkish sympathies, was at the same time deposed. The new status aroused no enthusiasm in Egypt, where the demand for self-government and effective independence continued to grow, and the joint Anglo-French proclamation of self-government to the Arab regions that were freed from Turkish domination by the successful conclusion of the war seemed to strengthen the movement in Egypt. There, Zaghloul Pasha, a statesman sprung from the people, had in the meanwhile come to the fore. As soon as the Armistice was signed, he, at the head of a representative delegation or wafd (hence the Wafd party), went to London to ask for independence. This request was rejected and the next step was rebellion latent, ultimately active. The deportation of Zaghloul and his principal lieutenants instead of improving only worsened matters.

On the suppression of the revolt in 1919 Lord Milner was sent out at the head of a mission to suggest means of restoring peace and harmony. The Egyptian Nationalists and many others, however, boycotted the inquiry. In the end Zaghloul was permitted to go to London to negotiate, and he reached an agreement, generally acceptable to the Egyptian people, with Lord Milner. The British Government, however, delayed coming to a decision. In Egypt an attempt was made to supersede Zaghloul and to replace him as leader of the people by a more amenable statesman. One consequence was a renewed outbreak of violence. In the end the Nationalists, strongly supported by the High Commissioner, Lord Allenby, secured their ends. On 28 February 1922 the British Protectorate was terminated, Egypt was declared a sovereign independent state, and self-government was transferred to the Egyptian people, except that, pending a further

agreement, the following subjects were left in *statu quo*: (a) the security of the communications of the British Empire through Egypt, (b) the defence of Egypt, (c) the protection of minorities and of foreign residents, (d) the Sudan. Zaghloul returned from exile and was soon head of the Government.

The assassination of the Governor-General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian forces, in Cairo on 19 November 1924, brought on a new crisis. The High Commissioner, Lord Allenby, at once issued an ultimatum. After hesitation and the resignation of Zaghloul it was accepted. The moderate party then began to gather strength, but was not yet strong enough to replace the Wafd. Another period of difficulties and dissension set in, but in the end the King of Egypt and his Prime Minister visited England and the conversations there resulted in a draft treaty of alliance. This provided for British protection of Egypt against attack from abroad and the supply by Egypt to Britain of all facilities and assistance in her power in the event of Britain being involved in war. Egypt undertook to bring her policy in line with that of Britain, to train the Egyptian army on British lines, and to place the lines of communication in Egypt under British protection. On the other hand, Britain was to do its best to get the Capitulations (q.v.) modified in Egypt's favour and to secure her admission to the League of Nations. The subject of the Sudan was left over. Zaghloul died while this treaty was being negotiated and his successor at the head of the Wafd, Nahas Pasha, took objection to it on the ground that it did not provide for the immediate evacuation of Egypt by the British. The Wafd influence was strong enough to get the Cabinet to reject the draft treaty. Nahas thereupon became Prime Minister. Nahas was later dismissed, Parliament dissolved, and the King ruled for a time as an absolute monarch. At length, on 26 August 1936, a treaty of alliance between Britain and Egypt was signed. By this full sovereignty of Egypt was recognized and British interests safeguarded. The British military occupation was in theory abolished, but the special British interest in the defence of the Suez Canal (q.v.) was recognized and the administration of the Sudan remained in *statu quo*. The

following year the Capitulations were abolished and Egypt admitted to membership of the League of Nations. Nahas Pasha was again Prime Minister when the treaty was signed.

Egypt declared war on the Axis Powers when the war was practically finished, in time, however, to enable her to secure inclusion in the United Nations Organization and to put in a claim for participation in deciding the fate of Libya (q.v.) At the same time she raised the question of a revision of the Treaty of 1936. Negotiations were opened, and as a preliminary, Britain announced her intention to withdraw all her armed forces without delay. Difficulties arose over the wording of the treaty of alliance that is to be entered into, but these were after a little delay smoothed out. The Treaty, as finally agreed, provided for mutual assistance in the event of attack and the establishment of a joint advisory defence board. It contained no reference to the Sudan.

The principal exports of Egypt are cotton, vegetable products, and other foods. Both in imports and exports the volume of business with the United Kingdom amounts to several times that of the next country (France) on the list.

**Eire:** Otherwise Ireland; 'a sovereign independent democratic state', according to Mr. de Valera, its Prime Minister, speaking in the Dail on 17 July 1945, an independent republic, associated for certain purposes with the British Commonwealth of Nations. Until 1921 it was a part of the United Kingdom, but in 1919 there was a final revolt against British rule which continued until 1921, on 6 December of which year a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland whereby Dominion status was granted to twenty-six counties, leaving Northern Ireland (six of the counties of Ulster) a part of the United Kingdom. The constitution of the new state then adopted has since been modified in directions away from the connexion with the British Commonwealth of Nations. The separation is so complete that during the World War of 1939 it was possible, although the British Empire was at war with Germany and Italy, for diplomatic representatives of the hostile Powers to be resident in Dublin and representatives of Eire to be accredited to the Governments in Berlin and Rome.

The present constitution of Eire dates from 29 December 1937, after it had been adopted by plebiscite. It lays down that the state is a Christian one, sovereign, independent, and democratic. It also specifically applies to the whole of Ireland, recognizing, however, that the Northern counties are at present outside of its power. The supreme head of the Government is a President elected by direct vote of the people. Parliament—upper and lower chambers—nominates a prime minister whom the President appoints. The free practice and profession of religion, personal liberty, and other natural rights are guaranteed.

See also Ireland, Northern: Irish Naval Stations.

**Entente Cordiale:** A close agreement, almost a formal alliance, between two powers. The classic instance was that between Britain and France reached in 1904 and continuing until 1914 when it became a formal alliance.

**Eritrea:** An Italian colony at the mouth of the Red Sea, cutting off Abyssinia from that sea. It was incorporated with Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italian Somaliland in the state of Italian East Africa on 1 June 1936. Its principal port is Massawah and the population is, for the most part, akin to that of Abyssinia. Of this population of 621,621 in 1931, 4,565 were Italians. (The Italian estimate in 1939 for the total population was one and a half millions, of whom 30,000 to 40,000 were Italians.) The others, apart from the Abyssinians, were Arabs and negroes. Eritrea was formerly a part of the Ethiopian Empire, but in the latter half of the nineteenth century the Egyptians gradually encroached along the coast. The Abyssinians recovered their former territory, but then an Italian encroachment commenced (1885). Wars with Abyssinia followed, but the Italians were never completely ejected from East Africa. Pearl fishing, gold-mining, and salt production are carried on in Eritrea.

With the close of the war in 1945 the fate of Eritrea, in common with that of the other Italian foreign possessions, came up for consideration. The general conclusion seems to be that it should be divided between the Sudan and Ethiopia. The principal Allied Powers were unable to agree on its disposal, except that it should be taken from Italy,

and it was agreed (3 July 1946) to postpone a decision for a year.

See also Abyssinia.

**Estonia:** One of the Baltic states, originally one of the states of the Federal Republic formed by the Teutonic Order of Knights. Thus it remained until it passed under the rule of Sweden in 1560. Russia acquired the territory in 1721 and held it until 1917 when, in the break-up of the Russian Empire, it secured its independence. This independence was recognized by the Russian Union of Soviet Republics by the Treaty of Tartu (2 February 1920). With the outbreak of war between Germany and Poland in September 1939, Russia began to put pressure on Estonia and the other neighbouring small states that had detached themselves from the Russian Empire. On the 28th of that month a treaty of mutual assistance and trade agreement was signed by the two powers. By this treaty Estonia was forced to grant to the other party naval bases and aerodromes on its territory and to bring the gauge of its railways into uniformity with those of Russia. The sovereign independence of Estonia was, however, guaranteed under the treaty. A few months later circumstances changed. Germany had by then overrun the greater part of Poland and Russia had occupied the remainder of the territories of that state. Russia then turned to the Baltic states. Pressure was brought to bear on Estonia, and on 21 July 1940, its newly elected National Assembly unanimously voted for incorporation in the Union of Soviet Republics as one of its constituents. As such it was admitted on 3rd August. The population of Estonia in 1934 numbered 1,126,413, for the most part engaged in agriculture and dairy-farming. Its principal exports are butter, cellulose, timber, flax, and meat.

**Ethiopia:** see Abyssinia.

**Eupen and Malmédy:** Two small districts on the frontier between the Rhineland province of Prussia and Belgium which were allotted to the latter state under the Treaty of Versailles (1919). Previously they had been German, but from 1801 to 1814 the districts were annexed by France.

The people of Malmédy are akin to the Walloons or French-speaking Belgians, but of the total population of 60,000 five-sixths are German-speaking. Before the districts were annexed to Belgium there was a sort of plebiscite, those of the inhabitants who objected to the proposal being given the opportunity to register their protests, but inevitably very few took advantage of this opportunity. There was in this instance no pretence of self-determination. The reasons for the transfer were that the district was of both strategic and economic value to Germany.

**Exchange Control:** A system whereby governments, through their central banks, exercise a close control over all foreign payments, for the purpose of keeping the rate of exchange balanced and their own currency stable.

**Extraterritoriality:** A system under which certain European and American Powers retain for their subjects living on Chinese territory their own jurisdiction, courts, etc., withdrawing them from Chinese jurisdiction. The nationals of these powers are not subject to taxation by the Government of China and their shipping also is free from the greater part of Chinese control. The system goes back to the beginning of the opening of China to Europeans. China had long been anxious for the abolition of extraterritoriality and the cancellation of the 'unequal treaties' was one of the main demands of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1925. A number of the Powers abolished or agreed to the abolition of their privileges, and in 1927 Great Britain gave up her concessions in Hankow, Chinkiang, and Kiukiang. Later, Great Britain, the United States, the Netherlands, Norway, and Brazil agreed that the abolition of their extraterritorial rights should begin on 1 January 1930. The Chinese Government thereupon issued a Mandate to the effect that from that date all foreign nationals in China would be subject to Chinese jurisdiction, but in view of difficulties that arose out of the disturbed state of the country the date was later postponed. Mexico, Portugal, and Belgium subsequently gave notice of relinquishment. The rights of Spain and Denmark lapsed with the withdrawal of their representatives from China. War cancelled those of Japan and Italy.



On 11 January 1943, Great Britain and the United States signed treaties with the Chinese Government for the abrogation of their extraterritorial rights and these treaties were ratified on the 20th May. Belgium signed a similar treaty on 20th October of the same year and Holland on 29 May 1945. These treaties established equality with China in all dealings. The only nations enjoying extraterritorial rights in China then remaining were France, Brazil, and Peru.

It is the practice in all countries to treat diplomatic agents as outside the jurisdiction of the states to which they are accredited and the embassies and similar buildings are considered parts of the territories of the agents' own states. To some extent the Capitulations (q.v.) granted the privilege of extraterritoriality.

**Falange (Falange Espanola), The:** A political and revolutionary movement in Spain, based on the Fascist and Nazi movements, which came into prominence with the outbreak of the Civil War (q.v.) in 1936. Like its prototypes it relied largely on violence to secure its ends and like them also, although its purpose was political, it attracted a considerable criminal element to its banner. The Falange was the spear-head of the rebellion. With the success of the Nationalist revolt the Falange became the ruling party in Spain and, in accordance with the precedents elsewhere, its members enjoyed privileges above the members of other parties. Also in accordance with precedent the Falange became imperialist and threatening. The Falange has never been closely knit. Formed originally of diverse elements, united only in their opposition to the Republic, the diversity has persisted throughout. The main differences are between the Fascist and the Monarchist elements and serious clashes have at times occurred between them.

Under the Falangist system of government, as proclaimed by General Franco in July 1942, a cortes or parliament was reconstituted, but it is not a legislative body as in a democracy. According to the Decree of Constitution of the Falange, the legislative power is vested exclusively in El Caudillo (the Leader) as head of the State. The only function of the Cortes is the preparation of the projects of

law submitted to it for study by decision of the Caudillo, with whom rest all powers of ratification and promulgation. There is no question of the Cortes being elected or democratically constituted. Most of the members are nominated by General Franco or his Government. It consists of members of the cabinet, members of the National Council of the Falange Party, the Presidents of the Council of State, of the High Law Court, of the High Military Court, and of the Royal Academies, the Rectors of the universities and the mayors of the provincial capitals. All of these are Government nominees. The associations of civil engineers and architects and the professional bodies also have representatives in the Cortes. The so-called 'vertical syndicates' of the Falangists (on the model of the Italian Corporations and grouping together of the employers and men engaged in a given trade) appoint a number of representatives not exceeding one-third of the total number of members of the Cortes. Finally, fifty members are chosen by General Franco from among the archbishops, generals, grandees, and high civil servants. The number of members of the Cortes is about 375. The term of membership is three years. A Cortes appointed on this basis came into existence on 16 March 1943.

**F.A.O.** (Food and Agriculture Organization): An international advisory body, set up by the conference of the Allied States at Hot Springs, U.S.A., in 1943, to make effective one of the ideals of the Atlantic Charter (q.v.), viz. freedom from hunger. With no executive powers its purpose is to recommend national or international action for the conservation of resources, the improvement of the methods of farming and marketing, the provision of adequate financial credits and the development of research and education in nutrition and agricultural science. The organization came into existence on 16 October 1945 with the signature of the Charter by the representatives of thirty nations, which did not, however, include the U.S.S.R.

**Far Eastern Commission:** See Moscow Agreement, The.

**Faroe Islands:** A group of islands in the Atlantic, north of the Shetland Islands, belonging to Denmark. They form

a county of Denmark in whose parliament they are represented, but they also have a measure of self-government. Since early in the present century there has been a nationalist movement that demands an extension of this self-government and also the development of cultural autonomy. The population is about 26,000.

**Fascism:** A political movement founded by Benito Mussolini, a Syndicalist-Socialist, in 1919. The term is derived from *fascio*, a bundle or bunch, and is intended to denote the close binding together of its members. Fascism was, in the first instance, a combination of Nationalism and Syndicalism and drew its first recruits from the extreme followers of both philosophies. In its inspiration it was largely chauvinist and its programme in foreign affairs was, from the beginning, one of aggressive imperialism. Later it was accepted by some as the only means of escape from the chaos that seemed to be spreading over Italy. In Italy the purpose of Fascism was the imposition of a sense of discipline on all citizens and a recognition that the interests of the state surpass those of any individuals. Thus the state comes first in all things and as the Fascist Party gradually came to usurp the rights and functions of the state all men and all interests became gradually subordinate to the party. As the Fascist Party grew in size and in power all rivals were suppressed, and to attain this end there was no hesitation at resorting to murder and other forms of cruelty. Anything of the nature of democracy, liberalism, or parliamentarianism, is anathema to Fascism. Italy was under the control of the Fascist Party from October 1922 until 25 July 1943 when, as a consequence of military failures in the war against Great Britain and the United States of America, the King dismissed Mussolini and had him arrested. The following day the Fascist Party was dissolved and all the legislation adopted since its seizure of power was cancelled a few days later.

Under Fascism, the Government of Italy rested in the hands of the Duce, Benito Mussolini, who could consult a small Fascist Grand Council, which had been described by him as a General Staff consisting of a few men able 'to

interpret the necessities, the spirit, and the supreme objects' of the Fascist Revolution. The Council consisted of (a) veterans of the Revolution who were members for life, (b) holders of certain offices, (c) Fascist officials appointed by the Duce for a term of three years. The shadow of a parliament was retained but its members were in effect appointed by the Fascist Party and its sole function was to listen to periodic addresses by the Duce. For the election of this parliament the electors were grouped in corporations representative of the different branches of industry, both employers and employed.

Fascism had, during the twenty years of its existence, found imitators in many countries, in some of which it had also secured control of the state, although in no case had the Italian programme been followed in every detail. The outstanding instance was that of Germany where National Socialism (q.v.), the German form of Fascism, had attained to even greater power and ruthlessness than in Italy, where the dream of Italian imperialism had shrunk into subservience to the greater chauvinism of Berlin, with its doctrine of the German *Herrenvolk*.

**Fatherland Front:** Semi-Fascist movement in Austria. In 1936 it was taken under the control of the Government and made the only legal political party organization in Austria. In the last days of Austria, the Fatherland Front came forward as a staunchly patriotic organization and, in the Nazi terror that took possession of the country in 1938, its members suffered in common with other patriots.

**Federal State; Confederation of States:** A federal state is one in which all parts are represented, for international purposes, by one government; in which two or more states constitute a political unity while remaining more or less independent in their internal affairs. A confederation of states is one whose governments retain the right to be separately represented and considered, while being united for common action, in foreign affairs. The United States of America were, from 1777 to 1789, a confederation. In the latter year they became a federation or federal republic.

The British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations is a confederation, a free association of sovereign states. Switzerland, once a confederation, after nearly seven centuries became a federation. The agreements made between Czechoslovakia and Poland and Greece and Yugoslavia during the war were for confederation.

Suggestions have been made for several forms of federal state to cover a wide area. There is first a world federation, including (a) all states, or (b) all 'peace-loving' states on the lines of the United States of America or the Commonwealth of Australia. Those who realise that such a proposal is impracticable advocate at the least a federated Europe on similar lines. The leading advocate of such an organization is Count Coudenhove-Kalergi who would exclude from it Britain and Russia on the ground of their large extra-European possessions and interests. A third plan is that of Federal Union (see below). A fourth plan suggested by Mr. Winston Churchill was for the creation within the League of Nations, or its successor, of 'A Council of Europe' and 'A Council of Asia' of both of which Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. should be members. The functions and powers of these proposed Councils were left somewhat vague.

Mr. Clarence Streit's proposal, whittled down for the time being to that of 'Union with Britain now' (q.v.) seems to be one for an ideological federation of states which accept a democratic system as their base. There have also been a number of proposals for the federation of neighbouring states (see e.g., Arab League; Balkan League; Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union; Czechoslovakia and Poland; Pan-American Union; Polish-Czech Declaration; etc.).

**Federal Union:** The project for European Federal Union was first put forward by Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister, at the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1929. The idea received support from the representatives of Germany, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia, and at their request the proposal was more closely defined in the Briand Memorandum which was circulated later. It was considered again by the Assembly in September 1930 and was referred to a committee for further investigation.

The proposal was in general for an organization or constitution that would enable the European states 'to get into touch at any time, to confer about their interests, to agree on joint resolutions, and to establish among themselves a bond of solidarity which will enable them, if need be, to meet any grave emergency that may arise'. The European Powers, to which the Briand Memorandum was circulated, showed a general if somewhat tepid sympathy, but several of them emphasized the necessity, in their opinion, of confining any organization that might be created within the framework of the League of Nations. The Commission of Inquiry set up by the League had a very influential personnel. It examined the proposal with some thoroughness. The direction of the inquiry took an economic turn, one of the proposals arising out of it being a Russian one for a pact of economic non-aggression. In the end, however, nothing came of the Briand Memorandum.

Recently, in 1939, an American writer, Mr. Clarence Streit, put forward somewhat Utopian proposals for an immediate scheme of Federal Union which should embrace the U.S.A., Great Britain, the Dominions, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. His book, which attracted considerable attention, led to the formation in the United States and Great Britain of an organization 'Federal Union' to further his objects. This movement goes much farther than the more modest one originated by Briand. The new unofficial programme is for 'a federation of free peoples under a common government directly or indirectly elected by and responsible to the peoples for their common affairs, with national self-government for national affairs'. The Federation would control foreign policy, armies, and armaments. It would have considerable power over tariffs, currency, migration, communications, and similar matters. It would also have power to ensure that colonies and dependencies are administered in the interests of their inhabitants. The other functions of government would be left to the states included in the Union.

See also *Franco-British Union; Union with Britain Now.*

**Fertile Crescent:** A term used when referring to the

fertile countries that border the Syrian desert: Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan (Kinglake's *Eothen*).

**Fifth Column:** A body of spies and sympathizers with the enemy behind the fighting front. A term derived from the boasts of the Franco radio propaganda in November 1936 when it was expected that Madrid would soon fall and that friends of the besiegers within the city would assist the attackers. The four other columns were the four armies with which General Franco attacked the Government's forces.

**Fighting French:** see Free French.

**Fiji Islands:** An archipelago in the Pacific Ocean, the most important in Polynesia, forming a British crown colony. The first Europeans to settle in the islands were some escaped convicts from Australia in 1804. In 1874 the islands were ceded to Great Britain, and four years later coolies, many of whom remained permanently in the islands, were introduced from India to work in the plantations. The Legislative Council consists of thirteen nominated members, six European, three Indian, and three natives who are elected, and the Governor. The population of the islands was estimated in 1939 at 215,000, of whom about 95,000 were Indians, and under 4,500 Europeans. The principal exports are sugar, copra, gold, and fruit.

**Finland:** A republic in Scandinavia, lying between Sweden and Russia, constituted on 17 July 1919, after its House of Representatives had proclaimed it a sovereign independent state on 6 December 1917. Previously, since 1809, Finland had been a part of the Russian Empire, with, however, a certain measure of self-government. Russia had obtained this territory after the conclusion of the war with Sweden. Finland had been Swedish since the twelfth century. Late in 1939, after the outbreak of war between Germany and the Allied Powers, Russia suddenly attacked Finland. The Finns defended themselves gallantly but were ultimately overpowered. At the Treaty of Peace, made on 13 March 1940, Finland was forced to cede to Russia the whole of the Karelian Peninsula with the important town of Viborg (Viipuri) as well as other territory, amounting to 16,173 square miles in all. Furthermore, the Peninsula of

Hangö with neighbouring islands was leased to Russia for thirty years, with permission to build a naval base there. A right of way to Sweden across Finnish territory was, at the same time, granted to Russia. Finland remained very sore over these cessions, and when Germany attacked Russia in the early summer of 1941 Finland at once joined in the attack in the hope of recovering her lost territory. After the German tide had turned and that of Russia set in, Finland, which had in the meanwhile reoccupied the territory previously ceded to Russia and at some points passed beyond it, found her position difficult and began to throw out feelers for the cessation of hostilities. She was urged to do so by the Government of the United States which, although an ally of Russia, had remained in diplomatic relations with Finland. Negotiations were commenced, but seemed never to have been serious on the part of Finland. Russia announced her willingness to accept terms which, although they included the restoration of the frontiers after the cession of the Karelian Peninsula in 1940 and an indemnity of 600 million dollars, were generally considered moderate. Despite the lack of response on the part of Finland, Russia showed considerable patience. The U.S.A., however, lost patience and broke off all relations with Finland. The military situation continued to deteriorate so far as Finland was concerned, and that state then showed herself more amenable. In the end an armistice, whose terms were in effect those of a treaty of peace, was arranged in September 1944. The main terms of this armistice were the restoration of the frontiers before the renewal of the war between Finland and Russia, except that instead of the lease to Russia of a naval station at Hangö, the port of Petsamo in the far north should be ceded and a naval station leased at Porkkala, a less important port, but close to the capital. So long as the war with Germany continued the Finnish airfields and her merchant fleet should be at the disposal of Russia. The German troops were to be disarmed after being given a few days in which to leave the country, and if assistance in the disarming were necessary it was to be provided by Russia. The maximum strength of the Finnish army was fixed at 35,000. Finally the amount



of the indemnity was reduced to 300 million dollars, payment of which in goods was to be spread over six years, but additional payments might have to be made to the other Allied Powers. This indemnity was cancelled in the spring of 1946.

Finland's principal exports are timber, pulp and paper, and butter. Great Britain is by far her best customer, Germany coming second.

See also Aaland Islands.

**Fiume:** Italian port at the head of the Adriatic, until 1918 a part of Hungary, but geographically a part of Croatia. On the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, it was intended that Fiume should go to the newly created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, both because geographically and to a less extent racially it belonged to them, but also because that was the only immediate opportunity of giving the new state a port on the Adriatic of any consequence. Imperialist opinion in Italy, however, did not agree, and a filibustering expedition under the Nationalist poet, Gabriel d'Annunzio, seized the city and held it, despite the warnings of the Great Powers and the passivity of the Italian Government. In the end the Imperialists gained their object and on 27 January 1924 Fiume was formally annexed to the Kingdom of Italy with the agreement of the Powers and also of the Slav Kingdom that was mainly interested.

Fiume is one of the towns of Venezia Giulia (q.v.) which Yugoslavia claimed after the defeat of Italy in 1944.

Under Italian rule the trade and prosperity of Fiume have largely diminished. Judged by the volume of goods landed, it is the ninth port of the Kingdom. Its population in 1936 numbered 53,896, of whom less than half were Italians. The number of vessels that entered the port in 1938 was just half of the relative figure for 1902.

**Five Power Treaty:** An agreement made between Britain, the U.S.A., France, Italy, and Japan, at the Washington Conference (q.v.), signed on 6 February 1922.

See also Naval Disarmament.

**Flax:** The world production of flax in 1939 was 900,000

tons. In 1938, the last normal year, 70 per cent of this production originated in the U.S.S.R., 4·7 per cent in Poland, 4·2 per cent in Germany, and 3·9 per cent (including hemp) in Lithuania.

**Flemish Movement, The:** The Belgian people is composed of Flemings and Walloons (see Belgium). They speak different languages and have different traditions. The Flemings are akin to the Dutch, with whom they were for many centuries politically associated. In the Government of Belgium, the Walloons were for long considered to have precedence. For these and other reasons a Flemish movement, originally cultural but later political also, developed. The Flemish language and literature, which have a long history behind them, were in a decline until well into the nineteenth century. Dissatisfaction with the Government of Belgium in its early years, which endeavoured to make French the only language of the country, reacted in the encouragement of a Flemish revival. This so succeeded that not only was Flemish recognized as a national language, but in 1886 a Government Flemish Academy was established, and later the University of Ghent was transformed into a Flemish university.

Already before the outbreak of war in 1914, the Germans, who looked on the Flemings as a German people, endeavoured to flatter them by emphasizing the kinship. During the occupation of the country they did their utmost to create a pro-German movement among the Flemings, even to the extent of sponsoring a separate Flemish state, but had practically no success. After the rise of National Socialism these efforts were renewed, with a similar lack of success, a very small number of Flemings, all tinged with National Socialism, co-operating.

**Formosa:** A large island off the coast of China, acquired by Japan at the conclusion of the war with China in 1895. By the Japanese the island is known as Taiwan. The extent of Formosa is 18,809 square miles. The population numbered, in 1936, 5,609,042, or 406 to the square mile. Of these, just under 800,000 were Japanese and 46,373 foreigners. Despite the density of the population the settlement

of Japanese colonists in the island is encouraged. Formosa produces sugar, rice, bananas, tea, camphor, and camphor oil. There is a number of industries, and gold, silver, copper, and coal, are mined.

**Four Freedoms, The:** A phrase used by President Franklin Roosevelt in an address to the American Congress on 6 January 1941. In this phrase he crystallized the goal that should be set before the Allies and all freedom-loving nations. The Four Freedoms were: (1) Freedom of Speech and Expression, (2) Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, (3) Freedom from want—which he explained by ‘economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy, peacetime life for its inhabitants’, and (4) Freedom from fear, ‘a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour’.

**Four Power Pact:** An agreement between Britain, France, Italy, and Germany, signed on 7 June 1933, in which, after reaffirming the Covenant of the League of Nations (q.v.), the Locarno Treaties (q.v.), and the Kellogg Pact (q.v.), they undertook to consult together on all subjects of mutual interest, to co-operate in the maintenance of peace within the framework of the League of Nations, to consider among themselves means of putting into effect the intentions of the Covenant and to make every effort to ensure the success of the Disarmament Conference.

**Four Power Treaty:** An agreement made at the Washington Conference (q.v.) in 1921 between Britain, the U.S.A., France, and Japan, under which the signatories pledged themselves to respect each other’s insular possessions in the Pacific and to consult each other over questions affecting that region. It was intended to take the place of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance to which the U.S.A. and some of the British Dominions took exception.

**Fourteen Points, The:** The basis of a post-war settlement, formulated by Woodrow Wilson, President of the U.S.A., to the American Congress on 8 January 1918. They were: (1) Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after

which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind. (2) Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants. (3) The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance. (4) Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. (5) A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. (6) The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. (7) Belgium to be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. (8) All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted. (9) A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality. (10) The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development. (11) Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several

Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into. (12) The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees. (13) An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations which should be afforded a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant. (14) A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

The conditions were in the first instance put to the German Government by President Wilson in his personal capacity. After they had been accepted they were submitted to the Allied Governments who also accepted them, subject to two reservations. On the subject of the Freedom of the Seas, they 'reserved to themselves complete freedom'. They interpreted the obligation to restore the territories evacuated by Germany as including the payment by Germany of compensation 'for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air'. An armistice was then arranged under which Germany laid down her arms. As an effective instrument little more was heard of the Fourteen Points.

**Franco-British Union:** An offer suddenly made by Mr. Churchill, in the name of Great Britain, to the French Government in June 1940, then on the point of capitulating to the Germans, of a complete union between the British

and French states, with a common citizenship, joint organs for defence and foreign, financial, and economic policies. The French Government made no response.

**Franco-German Frontier:** 'France does not want to end this war without being assured that French forces shall be permanently installed from one end of the Rhine to the other. . . . The French Government considers the Rhenish-Westphalian Basin on both sides constitutes an industrial unit, and when we talk of the Rhine as a line of security in Western Europe we contemplate, of course, the industrial part of the right bank as being included.' (Gen. de Gaulle: Paris, 25 January 1945). This passage seems to crystallize the French territorial claims against Germany—the annexation of the Rhineland (q.v.), Saarland (q.v.) and the Ruhr Basin (q.v.). These claims were argued before the abortive conference of Foreign Ministers in London in September when no decision was reached, and the French position was there perhaps modified inasmuch as annexation was not demanded, but a permanent allied administration with France as the predominant Power. They, however, failed to obtain support from the other principal allies.

**Franco-Soviet Pact:** A treaty between France and the Union of Soviet Republics, signed on 2 May 1935. It provided for joint measures in the event of an attack or threat of attack on either Power and expressly stated that it was within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The treaty was to remain in force for a minimum period of five years. Germany was invited to join in the Pact but raised so many difficulties as in effect to refuse. She none the less looked on it with extreme resentment and used it later as an excuse for withdrawing from the Locarno Agreement. France herself came to consider the Pact a dead letter later and in the end it had no practical effect.

In December 1944 a new treaty was negotiated between the Governments of Russia and France. The treaty bound the two Powers in a close alliance in the war against Germany and laid down for the future the revival of armed co-operation if either of the parties becomes again involved in hostilities

with Germany. The two Powers also undertook to render all possible economic assistance to one another after the war. The treaty was to remain effective for a minimum period of twenty years. There was no mention in the treaty as published of any extension of France's frontiers, but it was generally understood that support was at the time of its negotiation promised to France for any claims she might make to German territory.

**Freedom of the Air:** This has been defined as (a) Freedom of passage. Permission for any aircraft to fly over any country; (b) Freedom of facilities. Use of airports, weather reports, etc., to be common to the citizens of all states; (c) Freedom of trade. Aircraft to be permitted to fly for hire in and out of all states.

**Freedom of the Seas:** see Seas, Freedom of the.

**Free French** (later Fighting French): The designation given to those French, under General de Gaulle, who dissented from the policy of their Government in capitulating to Germany in 1940 and in drifting later away from the British Alliance in the direction of Germany. A Free French army was raised and equipped and saw service by the side of the British in several of the war areas. The directing organ of Fighting France was the French National Committee which was at first seated in London.

With the simultaneous escape from France of General Giraud and the invasion of French North Africa by the Allied Forces, a parallel French movement, independent of Marshal Pétain and the Vichy French Government, was set up in North Africa. For some months the two movements acted independently of one another, with their own separate armed forces fighting by the side of the Allies, but ultimately they combined in the Committee of National Liberation (8 June 1943). Several of the smaller Allied Powers at once recognized this committee as in effect an Allied government, and entered into relations with it. Recognition by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and also by Russia, was, however, delayed. At length, on 27 August 1943, recognition was given by these Powers, but not in identical terms, the statement of President Roosevelt being more reserved than

those of the British and Canadian Governments. The terms of recognition by the Soviet Government were the most generous of all. In the meanwhile the French Committee had taken control of all French territory outside of Metropolitan France, except Indo-China, which was in Japanese occupation.

In the following month a Consultative Assembly, as near as possible representative of all anti-German parties in France and the Empire, was set up. This proved to be largely dominated by the 'underground front' in France, the patriots who, despite all vicissitudes, had continued the struggle. The functions of the Assembly were to advise the Committee on any matter referred to it and to discuss any other matter of national importance. The influence of the Assembly showed itself almost at once by the arrest and indictment for treason of a number of very prominent French politicians and generals who had hitherto, although in territory administered by the Committee of National Liberation, enjoyed very highly placed protection, and the removal of General Giraud and his friends from the governing body and their relegation to military duties alone.

For long, Great Britain and the United States—the latter especially—were very chary of granting the French Committee of National Liberation full recognition, as they wanted, as the Provisional Government of France. Many of the smaller Allied states had, however, no such qualms and readily did so. French armies shared in the invasion and setting free of France that began in June 1944 and with the French troops came French administrators sent by the French National Committee which was still in Algiers. As French territory was liberated these set up a French administration. Neither Britain nor the United States formally recognized those steps at first, but the sympathies of the British were obviously with them. The United States authorities were not so sympathetic but events overtook their hesitations. On the occupation of Paris the French set up a government there, transferring it from Algiers. The whole of liberated France at once accepted this Government. The representatives of the Powers that had been accredited to the Committee in Algiers necessarily followed it to Paris.



As a consequence the formal acceptance of its status by the other powers became little more than an academic matter. Great Britain, the United States and Russia recognized General de Gaulle's administration as the Provisional Government of the Republic of France on the 28 October 1944, and other Powers soon followed their example.

**Free Ports:** Ports in which facilities are granted to governments other than their own to land and dispatch goods free of taxation or regulations.

**Free Trade and Protection:** Free Trade is the economic policy that aims at the removal of all artificial hindrances to the interchange of goods between different countries, in opposition to Protection, according to the theory of which a country benefits by the exclusion from it of the products of other countries which do or may compete with the products of its own. The principal method of hindering the entry of the products of another and possibly competing country is that of taxation—known generally as customs duties. In the interests of protection there is a tendency to make these duties, which may in the first place have been justifiable as a source of revenue, prohibitive, and thus not only to give advantage to normal local products but even to stimulate the production of articles that, with the existence of Free Trade, could not be economically produced. As industrialization has spread, so has Protection, which has been developed also to apply to agricultural products. Protection tends to raise the price of commodities at home and even to reduce the prices of those sent abroad. A protected market enables large profits to be made, part of which can even be sacrificed in selling abroad under cost. Commerce is, however, after all only an exchange of products and services which in the end must roughly balance. Thus in a Free Trade world the greater the volume of imports, the greater must be the volume of exports to pay for them. In a time of prosperity this is obvious. It is in the time of contracting markets that greater and greater recourse is had to Protection in the vain hope that by this means one's economic equilibrium can be safeguarded in the midst of the impending *sauve qui peut*.

Until 1846 Britain was a protected state, but the industrial crises and widespread poverty of the preceding years forced the Government of Sir Robert Peel to change its economic policy to one of Free Trade. This held the field until 1832 when it was reversed in the midst of the economic upheaval that was an aftermath of the war of 1914 to 1918. Part of this aftermath was a passion among all states for economic self-sufficiency and Britain found it impossible to remain the only exception in a world of which a fury of economic protection had taken possession.

**French Armistice:** see Armistice of 1940, French.

**French Colonies in America:** The French colonies in America, apart from St. Pierre and Miquelon (q.v.), consist of French Guiana and the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. These are the remnants of what was once a great empire, the greater part of which was conquered and annexed by Britain and of the remainder most purchased by the United States of America.

French Guiana (area 34,740 square miles, population 80,906 (1936) European settlers) has been a penal settlement since 1854. The colony enjoys autonomous government under a Governor and Council-General of eight elected French citizens. It is represented in the French parliament by one deputy. French Guiana has almost unlimited timber resources. Its principal industry is gold-mining. Agriculture is greatly neglected, less than 8,000 acres being under cultivation. French Guiana lies between Dutch Guiana on the west and Brazil on the east, with the sea-coast as the northern frontier. The region was settled by French traders in 1626, and Cayenne, the capital, was founded in 1635. The territory of Inini, the hinterland, was separated from the colony in 1930 and is under the direct administration of the Governor of French Guiana. Its area is 30,301 square miles and its European population in 1936 was 6,099. Only timber-cutting and, to a slight extent, gold-mining have been developed.

Guadeloupe consists of two West Indian islands of a total area, including the small dependent islands, of 688 square miles. The population in 1936 was 304,239, mostly negroes

and mulattoes. The colony is administered by a Governor and an elected Council and is represented at Paris by a senator and two deputies. The principal exports are sugar, coffee, rum, cocoa, vanilla, and bananas. Guadeloupe was discovered by Columbus in 1493 and taken possession of by France in 1635. The natives were thereupon cruelly exterminated. For three periods the island was in British possession but it was always recovered by the French.

Martinique is also one of the West Indian islands and is of a total area of 380 square miles with a total population of 246,712 (1936). In 1901 the population was 203,781, but the eruption of Mont Pelé in the following year killed 40,000 of the inhabitants. These are, for the most part, negroes and mulattoes. The administration rests with a Governor and an elected council and the colony is represented in Paris by a senator and two deputies. Sugar, rum, cocoa, tropical fruits, and coffee are the principal products. The island was discovered by Columbus and possession was taken by France in 1635. Like Guadeloupe, for three periods in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the island was in British possession.

**French Empire, The:** The French Empire now consists of vast regions in Central and West Africa, the protectorates of Tunisia (q.v.), and Morocco (q.v.), a part of Somaliland (q.v.), Indo-China (q.v.), French Guiana, Madagascar (q.v.), Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre and Miquelon (q.v.), New Caledonia (q.v.) and a share in the condominium over the New Hebrides (q.v.). All of these colonies are governed under a close control from Paris. This system of government was recognized as being out of tune with the spirit of the post-war age and the French Government announced, in October 1945, its pending substitution by 'a new order—that of a French Union or commonwealth in which each territory would administer, no longer for the benefit of Metropolitan France, but first of all for its own good'.

**French Guiana:** see French Colonies in America.

**Friendly Islands, The:** see Tonga Islands.

**Galicia, Eastern:** A part of Poland which, after the Partition went to Austro-Hungary, inhabited for the most

part by a people closely akin in language and blood to the Ukrainians (see Ukraine). About 72 per cent of the population is Ruthenian or Ukrainian. The majority of the inhabitants of the towns are Jewish. On the creation of the Republic of Poland in 1919, Eastern Galicia was allotted to Poland, although for a very brief period a Western Ukraine existed in Eastern Galicia, but in the Partition of 1939 Russia acquired most of it, the remainder going to Germany. There had been an Ukrainian state in Eastern Galicia in the eleventh century. In 1340 it passed to Poland. Eastern Galicia was to have received a special status with some measure of autonomy, when it was allotted to Poland in 1919, and its final disposal was to have been decided after the lapse of twenty-five years. The Polish state accepted Eastern Galicia on these conditions but never observed them. On the conclusion of the war with Germany in 1945, Eastern Galicia was annexed to the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine.

**Gambia:** see Africa, British West.

**Geneva Convention:** An international agreement adopted at Geneva on 6 July 1906 for the protection of the wounded in war. The Convention took the place of earlier ones adopted at Geneva in 1864 and 1868. With the exception of Turkey and five Spanish-American republics, all the civilized states adhered to the Convention. The Geneva Convention owed its genesis to two practical humanitarian Swiss citizens, Henri Dunant and Gustave Moynier, to whom also the initiation of the Red Cross organization, the instrument for the practical application of the Convention, was due. This movement has, in the past eighty years, greatly extended its activities—to cover refugees from oppression, other suffering civilians, and prisoners of war. The headquarters of the International Red Cross Committee are at Geneva.

**Geneva Free Zones:** see Savoy Zones.

**Geneva Protocols:** see Anschluss.

**Gentleman's Agreement:** an informal agreement between states, based on the good faith, or the overruling interests, of both parties.

**Geo-Politics:** The science of geography as applied to

strategy, especially that of aggression in regard to other states, pursued particularly in Germany.

**German Colonies:** Germany, although a late-comer in the field, had a number of colonies or protectorates in Africa, the Pacific, and China, of all of which she was stripped by the Treaty of Versailles (1919). The earliest of these were acquired in 1884, Togoland (q.v.) (33,700 square miles), the Cameroons (q.v.) (190,000 square miles), South-West Africa (q.v.) (322,450 square miles), German New Guinea (70,000 square miles), Bismarck Archipelago (20,000 square miles). German East Africa, now Tanganyika (q.v.) (364,000 square miles) dates from 1885, as do also the Marshall Islands (160 square miles). The Solomon Islands (q.v.) (4,200 square miles) were acquired in 1886, the Kiao-chow (q.v.) district of China (117 square miles) in 1897, and the Caroline, Pelew, and Mariana Islands (800 square miles), and German Samoa (q.v.) (985 square miles) in 1899. All of these colonies were ceded to the victorious Allied and Associated Powers who distributed them among themselves, but to be administered under Mandate (see Mandate System). German East Africa, apart from the native states of Ruandi and Urundi, went to Britain, German South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa, Nauru (q.v.) to Britain. Togoland and the Cameroons were shared between Britain and France, Ruandi and Urundi in East Africa went to Belgium. A small portion of German East Africa which the Germans had forced Portugal to cede in 1894 was returned to her. The Marshall, the Caroline, the Mariana, and the Pelew Islands in the Pacific Ocean went to Japan, the German share of Samoa to New Zealand, and New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Solomon Islands to Australia. Kiao-chow went to Japan, who returned it to China in 1921.

After the rise of National Socialism in Germany a demand for the restoration of these colonies began to get vocal. On the part of the Powers now in possession of them there was no response, except in one or two instances where mild suggestions were made that the demand should be met to some extent, but always at the expense of a Power or Powers other than themselves.

**Gestapo, The:** The German Secret Political Police, formed by the National Socialists immediately on their assumption of power and notorious for its ruthlessness and cruelties. As the German armies advanced, the Gestapo followed them with its régime of murder and torture. It is believed to have had its agents also in other countries in preparation for attacks on them. The Gestapo was the main instrument for the maintenance of the National Socialist régime in Germany and the conquered lands.

**Gibraltar:** A fortress and naval station in the south of Spain, controlling the entrance into the Mediterranean. Its length is less than three miles and its breadth from a quarter to three-quarters of a mile. Gibraltar was taken by British and Dutch forces from Spain after a three days' siege in 1704 and, although subsequently besieged, has never left British possession. Spain, however, never fully acquiesced in the loss of the fortress, and in recent years in particular, there has been an agitation, largely encouraged in Germany and Italy, for its recovery. Gibraltar has, throughout its British period, been governed as a Crown colony, but the Governor has always been a senior British general. The night population (civilians only), which numbered 17,613 in 1931, consists for the most part of the descendants of Spanish and Italian settlers, all of whom are now British subjects.

**Gödesberg Memorandum:** see Munich Agreement.

**Gold:** The world production of gold in 1940 was estimated at a figure exceeding 41,139,000 ounces. Excluding the U.S.S.R., for which 4,146,000 ounces are included in this total, the principal producing countries in 1938 were the Union of South Africa (39·7 per cent), the United States (13·9), Canada (13·8), Australia (4·7), Mexico (2·9), Southern Rhodesia (2·7), and Japan (2·4). In 1940 the U.S.S.R. produced about 10 per cent of the total.

**Gold Bloc, The:** A group of Powers whose currency was based on gold. Its origin may be traced to the Latin Monetary Convention of 1865 between France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, to which Greece later acceded, by which, although the currencies of those countries were based on a bi-metallic (gold and silver) standard, the gold standard was

gradually substituted for it. So long as the union that arose out of the Convention lasted—it came to an end formally in 1926—the currencies of these five Powers were interchangeable. The gold basis of these currencies continued after 1926, but the Three-Power Currency Declaration of 1936 (q.v.) brought the gold bloc to an end.

**Gold Coast:** see Africa, British West.

**Gold Standard:** A system of currency based on gold and on the convertibility at sight of a state's paper or silver currency into gold at a fixed price. Until the outbreak of the war of 1914 the Gold Standard was general in Europe and North America. The advent of war caused it necessarily to be suspended. The United States of America and Switzerland remained on the Gold Standard throughout. Britain returned to it in 1925, but found it impossible to remain there. Other Powers, France, Holland, and Belgium, also returned for a time, but were unable to remain. See also Currency Declaration, Three-Power.

**Greco-Yugoslav Union:** On 15 January 1942 an agreement between the Governments of Greece and Yugoslavia was made whereby the beginnings of a Balkan Union were laid down. This agreement provided for a common general staff for the two armies and joint political and economic and financial organs. The function of the former was to co-ordinate the foreign policy of the two states; that of the latter to co-ordinate the policies of exterior commerce and customs tariffs with a view to the conclusion of a customs union, to elaborate a common economic plan for all members of the Union and to prepare a draft agreement instituting a Balkan monetary union. The two Powers envisaged the adherence of other Balkan states to the Union.

**Greek Patriots:** The Greek patriots (Antartisi: irregular bands), also known as Partisans, those who took up arms and continued to fight as guerrillas against the Axis armies of occupation, fell into five organizations. The three principal ones were the E.A.M. (National Liberation Front), which was Communist in leadership, but not entirely so in membership, with the Greek Popular Liberation Army (the E.L.A.S.) as its instrument; the E.D.E.S. (the Greek Democratic

Liberation Army), composed of followers of Colonel Plastiras who headed the military revolt in 1922; and the National Social Liberty League (E.K.K.A.), a military non-political body. These bands or armies were at times in control of a large part of Greece, causing much damage to the occupying armies. At first these organizations all acted independently and without communication with one another, but in the course of time, British officers were landed secretly in Greece, helped to train and organize the bands, and brought them into contact with one another. In Northern Greece the bands throughout worked in harmony. In the southern, however, political differences broke out, and at times there was fighting between the E.L.A.S. and the E.D.E.S. The surrender of Italy was followed by the transfer by Italian troops in Greece of their arms to the Patriots, who happened to be for the most part members of the E.L.A.S., which thereby became the strongest of the parties. The visit of a delegation of leaders of these bands to the Greek Government in Cairo in 1943 and their failure to secure representation in that Government brought the dissensions, hitherto for the most part latent, to a head. The main difference seems to have been whether when the Germans and Bulgars were driven out of Greece the King of the Hellenes should return at once or await a decision of his subjects regarding the future form of government.

In May 1944 a conference of representatives of all parties both in and out of Greece, held in the Lebanon, resolved to form a new government, representative of all parties, under M. George Papandreou, himself a recent arrival from Greece. This solution was reached only after the outbreak and suppression of a serious mutiny among the Greek armed forces, both naval and military, anxious for a political settlement to their liking. The agreement was not ratified by the Extreme Left participants, but on 2 September 1944, another agreement was reached and members of all the dissident parties were included in the Greek Cabinet.

The King had some months earlier, in advance of the conference in the Lebanon, announced that he would act on the advice of his Government on the question of his return



to Greece at the conclusion of the war. This decision was approved by the Conference and was accepted by the newly formed Government.

The agreement of September 1944 did not hold for long. The Government of M. Papandreou broke up and its successor was more to the right. Civil war broke out and was suppressed only by the intervention of British arms which inevitably supported the Government and the *status quo*. The revolt was quickly suppressed, but still remained latent, even when later a non-political Cabinet was appointed. In fact a Government survived in Greece only with British military backing.

**Greenland:** A large continental island off the east coast of Canada, almost entirely within the Arctic Circle; the only colony of Denmark. Greenland was the first land in America to be settled by Europeans (Norsemen in the tenth century). The Norse settlement died out about 1410. However, the Norwegian claim persisted and Norway and Greenland together passed into the possession of Denmark, Greenland remaining when Norway was attached to Sweden. There was a shadowy claim by Norway to East Greenland. This came to a head in 1931 when some young Norwegian whalers irresponsibly annexed the disputed territory. The Norwegian Government supported their action and Denmark at once protested. By agreement between the two Governments the decision between their claims was referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. This decision was in favour of Denmark, and was at once accepted by Norway. In April 1941, the Government of the United States, in agreement with the Danish Minister at Washington, who was, however, disavowed by his Government in Copenhagen, took over the protection of Greenland, guaranteeing Danish sovereignty there and undertaking to withdraw the American troops 'when the peace and security of the American continent are no longer endangered'. Of the 736,518 square miles of Greenland only 31,284 are ice-free. Of the 16,630 inhabitants in 1930, 408 were Danes and the remainder Eskimos.

**Ground Nuts:** The world production of ground nuts in the year 1937-8 was about 6,910,000 tons. In 1938, the last

normal year, 87·1 per cent was produced in India, 7·5 per cent in French West Africa, 6·2 per cent in the United States of America, and 4·9 per cent in Nigeria.

**Guadeloupe:** see French Colonies in America.

**Guam:** An island in the western Pacific, the southernmost of the Marianne Islands, and east of the Philippines. It was ceded by Spain to the U.S.A. on the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898, and was made a naval station. The island is in effect closed to all foreigners, and even to those United States citizens who cannot justify admission. The population in 1940 numbered 22,290, of whom less than 2,000 were American or European. The area of the island is about 225 square miles. The principal product of Guam is maize.

**Guild Socialism:** The British form of Syndicalism (q.v.) intended in part to be a revival of the medieval Trade Guilds. In the event of nationalization the proposal is that each trade should take over its industry and run it. A partial attempt was made in 1920 to direct and control the building industry on these lines, but this met with failure.

**Guinea, Portuguese:** see Portuguese Colonies.

**Habsburg Restoration, The:** The Habsburg family goes back to about the year 1020, when the Castle of Habsburg, near the junction of the Aar with the Rhine, was built by Werner, Bishop of Strasburg, and his brother Radbot. Radbot's son, Werner, was the first Count of Habsburg. The first Habsburg emperor was Rudolph, who was born in 1218. During the succeeding centuries when the Imperial throne was subject to election, it was filled on a number of occasions by a member of the House. Their power and wealth were greatest in the time of the Emperor Charles (sixteenth century), who was also King of Spain, of the Americas, and of the Netherlands. In Italy he ruled over Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and Milan, and in France, Franche-Comté and Alsace. His brother, Ferdinand, at the same time ruled over Austria, the Tyrol, Bohemia, and part of Hungary. This brother was the first of the Austrian Habsburgs. From his day, so long as the Empire lasted, a Habsburg always succeeded a Habsburg as Emperor, except

that on the death of Charles VI without male heir, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, the Duke of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, who founded the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. In the settlement that followed the Napoleonic wars the Holy Roman Empire came to an end and the Emperor Ferdinand became Austrian Emperor. From then onwards the territories continued to diminish, until, on the outbreak of war in 1914, the Emperor Francis Joseph's empire embraced only Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Tyrol, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Galicia, Transylvania, the Bukowina and the Trieste district. The end of that war saw the disruption of that empire. Even the truncated Austria and Hungary, the kernel of the Habsburg inheritance, became in the one case a republic, in the other a kingdom with a vacant throne. The Emperor Carl, having renounced 'any share in the affairs' of Austria and Hungary, but refusing to abdicate, went into exile, where he soon died. He was succeeded in his claims by his son Otto.

The Emperor Carl made two unsuccessful attempts to recover the throne of Hungary, in 1921. The Allied Powers, in particular France and the Little Entente (q.v.), were very strongly opposed to any Habsburg restoration and compelled the Hungarian Government to declare the throne vacant, and to promise to elect a new occupant only with the approval of the Allies. There nevertheless remained a Legitimist Party in Hungary which looked on the Archduke Otto as its legitimate sovereign. In Austria also there was a movement, a far milder one, for the restoration of the Habsburgs, to which not only France and the Little Entente, but also Germany under National Socialist influence, took very great exception. Dr. Schuschnigg, the Chancellor of Austria, fearful of the German National Socialist threat, realized that a restoration of the Habsburgs might be an effective instrument to oppose to it, but he could get no support for such a policy from any foreign Power, not even from Italy, which had once favoured such a step. One of the intense hatreds of Hitler was that for the Habsburg family, any member of which who came into his power would

probably have been murdered. The ex-Empress and some of her family took refuge in North America.

**Hague Conventions:** Agreements adopted by the principal Powers and some of the minor ones at international conferences held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. At the earlier of these conferences three conventions were adopted: (a) for the pacific settlement of international disputes, (b) relating to the laws and customs of war by land, and (c) for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention (q.v.) of 22 August 1864. At the second conference fourteen conventions were adopted. These dealt *inter alia* with the conversion of merchant ships into warships, the laying of submarine mines, bombardment by naval forces, and the rights and duties of neutral Powers in maritime war. By one of these conventions the launching of projectiles and explosives from the air was prohibited.

**Hatay, The:** Otherwise the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the northernmost district of Syria which was ceded by Turkey to the Allied and Associated Powers under the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The largest section of the population, although not the majority, is Turkish, and by the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement of 1921 France agreed that the Sanjak should, although a part of the Mandated territory of Syria, enjoy a special régime. This held so long as the question of Syrian independence remained academic. By 1936, however, this question had become actual and the Turkish Government was then pressing for a measure of autonomy for the Sanjak under which the Turkish element in the population would receive a privileged position. There was much opposition to this proposal on the part of the Arabs of Syria, and the matter was referred to the Council of the League of Nations. Ultimately, in 1937, France and Turkey came to an agreement whereby a new Organic Statute was adopted and the Sanjak became the autonomous Republic of Hatay. This Republic came into existence on 28 November. The Syrian protests against the agreement grew ever more vehement. In the Hatay also there were disturbances and bloodshed. But the settlement agreed upon by the French and Turkish Governments and ratified by the treaty was not affected.

However, it did not last for long. On 21 June 1939 another agreement was made between the two Powers. Under this the Republic of Hatay came to an end and its territory was incorporated in that of the Turkish Republic.

**Havana, Act of:** see Pan-American Union.

**Havana Declaration:** see Pan-American Union.

**Hawaii or Sandwich Islands:** A group of islands, a territory of the U.S.A., situated almost in the centre of the Pacific Ocean, but nearer to America than to Asia, being 2,100 miles from San Francisco and 3,445 from Yokohama. Hawaii is the name of the principal island of the group. Until 1898 Hawaii was an independent native state, originally under its own kings, but after American influence had begun to permeate, a republic. The administration now rests in the hands of a Governor appointed at Washington and an elected legislature. Hawaii is noteworthy for its profuse vegetation and its attractive climate and scenery. The area of the islands, including Midway Island, is 6,407 square miles, and the population at the 1940 census was 423,000. The principal products are sugar and pine-apples. At Pearl Harbour in Hawaii there is a very important naval station.

**Hemp:** The world production of hemp, including Manila hemp, in 1939-40 was 603,000 tons. In 1936, of the production, 33.1 per cent related to the Philippine Islands, 23.7 per cent to the U.S.S.R., 14.8 per cent to Italy, 8.8 per cent to Yugoslavia, and 5 per cent to Rumania.

**Hispanidad:** Movement of Falangist or Spanish Fascist origin for the unity, spiritual if not political, of all Spanish-speaking lands. The movement is directed by the Consejo de Hispanidad from Madrid and its head is in charge of the American section of the Spanish Foreign Office. Hispanidad is also actively, aggressively, Roman Catholic.

**Hoare-Laval Project:** A provisional agreement (10 December 1935) between the British and French Governments for the imposing on Abyssinia of concessions to Italy, against invasion by whom she was at the time defending herself. Italy was finding the task she had undertaken more difficult and costly than she had anticipated and there is reason to believe that the terms of the proposed settlement

were acceptable to her. Public opinion in England was strong enough to force the Government to abandon the proposals. These were that Abyssinia should cede to Italy Western Tigre, and a still larger district contiguous to Italian Somaliland, and that Abyssinia should receive at the expense of Italy an outlet to the sea at Assab. Furthermore, a large zone in Southern Abyssinia, amounting to almost half the remainder of the country, although remaining nominally a part of the Abyssinian Empire, should be placed under Italian control with a view to its exploitation in the interests of Italy and Italian nationals.

**Hong Kong:** A British colony consisting of the island of Hong Kong close to the coast of China, near the mouth of the Canton river, and the adjacent Kowloon peninsula. Hong Kong is one of the principal ports of the Far East, in fact of the world. The area of the colony and the leased territory is 391 square miles, and its population in 1939 was about 1,060,000, apart from a very large number of refugees from China. Hong Kong was ceded to Britain by China in 1841 at the conclusion of the 'Opium War'. The Kowloon peninsula was acquired in 1860 as a result of the second 'Opium War'. A further strip of territory on the mainland, together with adjacent islands, was acquired on lease in 1898. The chief industries of the colony are sugar-refining, ship-building, rope-making, tin-refining, and tobacco and cement manufacture.

**Hoover Moratorium:** see Debts, Inter-Allied.

**Hot Springs Conference:** see F.A.O.

**Hungary:** A kingdom in south-east Central Europe, founded by Magyars, savage invaders from Asia, in the ninth century. In the earlier half of the sixteenth century Hungary passed to the Habsburgs (q.v.), and it was ultimately joined to Austria, with the Austrian Emperor as its king. In 1848 the Hungarians rebelled under Louis Kossuth, but the rebellion was suppressed with the help of a Russian army. The grant of constitutional concessions nevertheless followed the suppression of the rebellion. Hungary, in course of time, became an equal partner with Austria in the joint monarchy, but new problems arose with the strivings for independence

of the subject-races of Hungary—Slovakia, Croatia, etc. Hungary entered the war of 1914 as a full partner of Austria and Germany. She suffered equally with Austria in the course of that war, and when the Emperor Karl placed himself in the hands of his people in November 1918, he ceased also to be King of Hungary, although that state did not, like Austria, become a republic. It remained a monarchy under a regent. By the Treaty of the Trianon (4 June 1920) Hungary lost territory to Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Croatia went to Yugoslavia and Fiume ultimately to Italy. Her population, which had previously been  $19\frac{1}{4}$  millions, was reduced to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions, 3 million Magyars being transferred to foreign rule. The reduced state was practically disarmed; the reparations to be paid by her were fixed at an indefinite but very great figure. Under the treaty Hungary was to be given free access to the Adriatic, but no steps were taken to implement the relative clause. Hungary was, of course, completely separated from Austria, and in another instrument Hungary, while remaining a kingdom, undertook not to restore the Habsburgs without the consent of the Allies.

The Hungarian people never accepted this settlement, but for many years there was no suggestion of securing a revision, except by international agreement. The Reparations clause inevitably became a dead letter. In the play of international forces on the Continent, Hungary at first leaned on Italy, who, after the Munich Agreement (q.v.) for the partition of Czechoslovakia, succeeded in securing the cession of portions of Czechoslovak territory to her protégé. As for the military clauses of the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary seems never to have observed them. After the Munich Agreement the Government of Hungary, which had under the Italian influence become gradually more and more Fascist, came closer to that of Germany with which state Hungarian relations had never previously been cordial. As Italian influence in international affairs diminished that of Germany rose, and Hungary came more and more to rely on Germany and less on Italy. This showed itself more clearly after the outbreak of war in 1939. In January of that year Hungary had

adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact (q.v.), and in the following April, following the example of the Axis Powers (q.v.), resigned from the League of Nations. These steps met with their reward in 1940, at the end of the August of which year, under orders from Berlin, Rumania was forced to restore a large part of Transylvania to Hungary. This service on the part of Germany brought Hungary still closer to her, and in November she formally joined the Axis. At the same time it, of course, made her relations with Rumania, which was also passing under Axis influence, still less friendly.

Hungary had, almost from the outbreak of war, been affording facilities to the German armies. In March 1941, however, when Germany was on the verge of invading Yugoslavia, she demanded that Hungary should grant her armed assistance. These two states had just concluded a treaty of friendship, and Hungary would have much preferred to have remained passive. But she had no choice. She carried out the German instructions, and on the defeat of Yugoslavia was given certain stretches of Yugoslavian territory. Later in the year Hungary, also not very willingly, joined in the war against Russia and sent armies to the eastern front. Before the end of that year Hungary was at war also with Great Britain and the U.S.A. Hungary and Rumania were now allies, fighting side by side. This, however, did not arouse any friendly feeling between them, and it is probable that if they had been free to act, each would have sooner fought the other than their common enemies.

Hungary was involved in the debacle of the Axis Powers, and before the end of 1944 her position was hopeless. The Government realised this and was anxious to come to terms with the Allies. Germany had already previously sent troops into Hungary and had gained such control over the Government as to be able to dismiss and appoint ministers and even to have the head of the Government, Admiral Horthy, removed. Nothing could, however, avail. The advance of the Russians continued. A Government under their control, which declared war against Germany on 29 December, was set up. This negotiated an armistice, which was signed in Moscow on the 20 January 1945, with the Russians. The



terms were on the whole similar to those of the armistices with Finland, Bulgaria, and Rumania (q.v.). All United Nations' territory including Transylvania (q.v.) had to be evacuated and an indemnity of 300 million dollars had to be paid in kind over a period of six years, later extended to eight—two-thirds to Russia, one-third to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—the right of other Allied Powers to claim similar indemnities being reserved.

At the end of 1945 elections were held in Hungary, which, despite the dominating position enjoyed by Russia there, did not give the Communists a majority. On the other hand, the largest party to come out of the elections was that of the Smallholders, a middle-class, bourgeois party. Shortly before, an economic agreement between Hungary and Soviet Russia had been made. By this Russia was given a half interest in almost the whole of Hungarian economy. This agreement was looked on askance by the British and United States Governments, and a new Government having come into office in Hungary the agreement was cancelled.

**Iceland:** An island in the North Atlantic, on the edge of the Arctic Circle. Its area is about 39,758 square miles and its population (1939) 120,264. Iceland came under the rule of the Danish kings in 1380. In 1874 it was given a constitution under which the King of Denmark shared the legislative power with the Althing or Parliament. By the Act of Union of 30 November 1918, Iceland became an independent state, but under the same king as that of Denmark. On the occupation of Denmark by German forces in April 1940, when the King passed under German control, the Althing of Iceland took the control of foreign affairs entirely into its hands. Suspicion of German designs led to a British occupation with the consent of the Icelanders, on 10 May 1940, and, later, United States forces joined the British in the occupation, the intention being that the British forces should ultimately withdraw. Before the American troops landed the Icelandic Parliament had denounced the Act of Union of 1918 since, as they said, Denmark was no longer able to fulfil her obligations, and gave notice that an Icelandic republic would be established.

At the same time the absolute independence and sovereignty of Iceland were recognized by the British and United States Governments and promises given that that independence and sovereignty 'shall not be encroached upon by the terms of the peace treaty nor in any other way at the conclusion of the war'. The end of the war was not awaited. On 24 May 1944 a plebiscite was held. It showed a 98 per cent vote on a heavy poll in favour of a republic, and in accordance with this decision a republic was proclaimed on 17 June. The King of Denmark immediately recognized the new status and sent his good wishes for the future of the newly formed independent state.

The principal industries of Iceland are fishing and fish-preserving, the production of hay and potatoes and sheep- and pony-rearing coming next. Scandinavia—earlier the Mediterranean countries—used to be Iceland's principal market. This position has now been taken by Great Britain. Iceland occupies a very important strategical position between Europe and America.

On the conclusion of the war in 1945 the Government of the United States, in drawing up its list of naval and air bases to be acquired, included one or more in Iceland, and in the meanwhile retained her troops in the island. The suggestion was not welcomed in the island. The American troops were, however, reduced to about 1,000.

**Imperialism:** Imperialism, originally the despotic rule of a monarch over a large territory, inhabited by more than one race, has come to mean a lust or passion for the extension of the dominions of a state, thus the creation or extension of an empire and the advocacy of a policy that would lead to such an enlargement.

**Imperial Preference:** A system of import tariffs in which imports from states members of the British Commonwealth and its colonies are admitted at lower rates than those from other countries. See Ottawa Agreements.

**Independent Workers of the World:** see Syndicalism.

**India:** As the nineteenth century advanced and as modern education spread among the people of India a demand arose for a share in the administration of the country. To this

end the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885. It was established with the encouragement of the Viceroy, and its objects, as defined at the time, were the promotion of friendship among workers for the welfare of India, the removal of racial prejudices, and the provision of a forum for the expression by educated Indians of views on social subjects. At first the Congress met once a year and the discussions on the occasion of those meetings, being widely reported, acquired year by year a greater influence, especially in the student class of the population. The advance of Japan and her victory over Russia in 1905 reacted also in India and encouraged the National Congress and its supporters. It then took a more political and nationalist direction. Ferment first developed into serious violence in 1905, on the occasion of the partition, for administrative convenience, of Bengal. This was resented on the part of the Hindus as an insult to their country. The *swadeshi* movement for the boycott of British imports followed, and both these movements continued, if only sporadically, for many years. In 1906 the Moslems of India, who had for some time been growing more anxious regarding their position as a minority in a possible Hindu India, founded the All India Moslem League. This worked for communal representation in elected bodies and, moreover, to compensate for their smaller numbers, for representation of the Moslems in excess of the proportion to which they would otherwise be entitled.

Every endeavour was made by the Government to suppress the violence and sedition that accompanied the new development of the Congress, but it was recognized that a policy other than that of mere suppression was called for and a series of moderate reforms was initiated. In 1907, for the first time, Indians—a Hindu and a Moslem—were appointed to the Secretary of State's Council in London, and two years later a Hindu barrister, Sir Ali Imam, was chosen as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council. In 1909, by the Indian Councils Act, an elected element was introduced into the legislative councils of the Indian provinces. These councils were thereby given a non-official majority among

their members. These and other changes had a salutary effect on Indian opinion, so that in January 1911 a deputation from the Indian National Congress, on the occasion of the arrival of a new Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, presented an address to the Crown in which it expressed its appreciation of the reforms which 'had done much to bring about a better understanding between the Government and the people'. The newly constituted Councils performed their functions adequately, and for a time it seemed that the course of development would be smooth. Further advances, accompanied by the removal of other political grievances, were announced in December of that year at a Coronation Durbar held by the King-Emperor at Delhi. The partition of Bengal, to which the Hindus had taken such strong objection, was reversed and the share in the administration given to the representatives of the local population in the older and larger provinces was extended to others. Nevertheless the revolutionary element in the population, which had at frequent intervals for some years past manifested itself in crime, did not disappear. It continued its clandestine activities and extended them as the use of the bomb was introduced from Europe.

This was the state of affairs when the World War broke out in August 1914. This event at first brought almost complete tranquillity to Indian internal affairs, but a change came in the autumn of 1916. Lord Chelmsford had taken office as Viceroy in the previous April. In October a new demand was made for reforms in the Indian Legislative Council and simultaneously a movement for a greater measure of self-government developed in the principal provinces, Madras and Bombay. The Indian National Congress and the Moslem League came to an agreement and jointly pressed for a new advance. Lord Chelmsford had considerable sympathy with the new movement and pressed his views on the Home Government. In the meanwhile Edwin Montagu became Secretary of State in succession to Sir Austen Chamberlain, and after a few months he also expressed his sympathy with the aims of the Indians, and announced as the policy of the Government the gradual development of

self-governing institutions. Montagu visited India in the following winter and, in collaboration with the Viceroy, produced a report, known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. This document laid down that the further movement of India towards self-government must begin in the provinces. It proposed that the provincial legislatures should be given at once a measure of responsibility and as much independence of the Central Government as was practicable. The Central Government should remain responsible in major matters to Parliament, but the Indian Legislative Council should be made more representative and be given greater opportunities of influencing the Government. This report was in general accepted, and by the Government of India Act of 23 December 1919, a central legislature, in two houses, with a majority of elected members in each, was constituted. The Governor-General was, however, given the power to override the decisions of this body. In the provinces, legislative councils, 70 per cent of whose members were to be elected, were also to be constituted. There was a long range of subjects over which these Provincial Councils had control, but there were others that were 'reserved'. These latter remained in the hands of Members of Council who were civil servants. The others were looked after by ministers. At the end of ten years a Royal Commission was to examine the working of these reforms and recommend any changes that might be considered necessary.

This system of Dyarchy did not, however, work altogether satisfactorily, and before six years had passed the Congress Party withdrew from participation in the Government. In November 1927 the statutory commission, under the chairmanship of Sir John, later Viscount, Simon, was set up. This commission reported in May 1930. It recommended a new federal constitution which should 'contain within itself provisions for its own development, and safeguards for the maintenance and efficiency of the administration while India was on the road to self-government'. In the provinces Dyarchy should be abolished and replaced by a unitary cabinet responsible to the legislature, the Governor to have the power to intervene only in the event of a breakdown.

In the centre there should be a federal assembly. The defence of India should remain an Imperial responsibility. As for the Indian states, as distinct from the provinces of British India, there should be a Council of Greater India in which their representatives would sit with those of British India for the consideration of matters of common concern. In the meanwhile, in March 1929, an Indian All-Parties Congress had demanded a constitutional status similar to that of the British Dominions, and the Indian Central Committee, consisting of members selected by the Viceroy from the Indian Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, had declared that the usefulness of Dyarchy was exhausted and that there was no half-way house in the provinces between it and full responsible government. To these representatives the Government of India replied (31 October 1929) that Dominion status was the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress. Nevertheless, in March 1930, two months before the publication of the Report of the Statutory Commission, the Indian Congress launched a campaign of civil disobedience.

The British Government accepted for the most part the recommendations of the Statutory Commission. In the provinces responsible government was to be substituted for Dyarchy. At the centre there was to be a Federation of All India with an elected legislature in two chambers. In this also the principle of responsibility to the legislature was recognized, except that defence and external affairs were reserved for the authority of the Viceroy and it was laid down that he would have power to take control in the event of an emergency. As for the Minority communities, the differences between whom a Round Table conference had endeavoured to remove in November 1930, they must themselves reach an agreement. This settlement coincided to a very great extent with the views of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, afterwards Viscount Halifax, who later came to an agreement with Mahatma Gandhi whereby the Civil Disobedience movement was abandoned. The problem of the representation of the Communities proved very difficult, since any sort of agreement between them seemed unattainable. In the end the Government itself had to lay down the bases of

their representation. The Government was then able to proceed with its proposals for Indian constitutional reform. These were published in March 1938. They filled in to some extent the details of the Declaration of Policy of January 1931. These proposals, after they had been considered by a select committee of the House of Commons, were incorporated in the Government of India Act which received the Royal Assent in August 1935. Two important provisions of this measure were the separation of Burma from India and the deferment of federation until at least half of the ruling princes had expressed their willingness to accept it. The Government, however, refused to incorporate in the Preamble a promise of the ultimate attainment of Dominion status. At the elections held in 1937, in eight of the eleven provinces the Congress Party secured majorities, and ministries were formed from among their members. In the three other provinces non-Congress ministries under Moslem prime ministers were appointed.

On the outbreak of war in September 1939 India automatically entered into a state of war, without any pretence of a consultation of Indian opinion. As a protest the members of the Congress Party withdrew from the Legislative Assembly. The Congress Working Committee went farther. It not only protested against India being made a belligerent without the consent of its representatives, but demanded the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly. The Moslem League, on the other hand, welcomed the suspension of the federal part of the Act of 1935, which the war had made inevitable, on the ground that experience in the provinces had shown that the constitution enabled Hindus to dominate Moslems. The reply to the Congress Working Committee and the Moslem League was the reiterated promise of ultimate Dominion status and a further promise to consult with representatives of India, after the war, with a view to modifying the Act of 1935. This, however, did not satisfy the Congress Working Committee, and as a consequence the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned and the administration of those provinces was thrown back into the hands of the Viceroy and

his civil servants. By the beginning of 1940 difficulties had still further increased. The Viceroy reiterated in January the promise of 'full Dominion status', but the reply of the Congress Party was a demand for complete independence. The Moslem League, on the other hand, fearful of any risk of Hindu domination, made a new demand for Pakistan, that is, the partition of India into Moslem and Hindu regions, each to be self-governing and independent of the other. The Chamber of Princes welcomed the promise of Dominion status, but demanded security under it for their rights. In July the Congress Working Committee reiterated its demand for independence and asked for an immediate Provisional National Government at the centre. The Viceroy then invited representative Indians to serve on his Executive Council and announced the intention to create a War Advisory Council on which there should also be a full representation of the people of India. However, both the Congress Party and the Moslem League declined to co-operate in these measures and a new era of limited civil disobedience began.

In March 1941 a moderate and conciliatory element among the Indians came to the front. At a conference they drew up a programme for the immediate reconstruction of the Viceroy's Council so that it should consist entirely of non-official Indians, for the transfer of the portfolios of Defence and Finance to Indians, and for a declaration that Dominion status would be granted as soon as the war ended. The Viceroy's response was the appointment of additional Indian members to his Council and also the appointment of a War Advisory Council to consist almost entirely of Indian members. No representatives of the Congress or the Moslem parties accepted seats on either body. The Moderates appealed for the full acceptance of their proposals: the Moslem League stood by their scheme of Pakistan: the Hindu Mahasabha demanded Dominion status with the predominance of Hindu political principles; and the All-India Azad Board and the Momin Conference, both Moslem, demanded immediate independence. The Liberal Federation asked for the application of Dominion status in practice,



although it agreed that its constitutional form need not be devised until after the end of the war. The Congress Party stood out rigidly for its full programme. As time passed, the threat of a Japanese invasion approached closer. In these circumstances the British War Cabinet sent one of its members, Sir Stafford Cripps, who was known to be *persona grata* to the members of the Congress Party, with a new programme which went much farther than any of its predecessors. This programme foreshadowed the creation, after the war, of an Indian Union whose status would be similar to that of the British dominions. The constitution of this Union would be framed by a body to be elected by the inhabitants of India. In this constitution-framing body the Indian states were also to be represented. The new constitution would, however, be subject to the two following conditions:

- (1) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so desires. With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that laid down.
- (2) The signing of a treaty which should be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This treaty would cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it would make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but would not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other member States of the British Commonwealth.

By these proposals it was thought that the Indian Congress demand for complete self-government would be met and at the same time the way left open to the Moslem League for

the adoption of Pakistan or secession from the Indian Union if a majority in any province desired it. The native states would have been given a similar power to remain out of the Union. For the time being, until the end of the war, the present system of government would have to continue, but it would be so directed, as far as possible, as to lead towards the projected post-war constitution. In Sir Stafford Cripps's own words, the British proposals meant 'complete freedom and self-government the moment the war is over and as soon as the Indians themselves can frame a new constitution for their country'. The British Government stated that unless the principal parties in India accepted the proposals they would have to be withdrawn. After three weeks of discussion and negotiation no party had accepted them. So far as the Congress Party, the largest of them, was concerned, the breakdown was caused by the proposals for the intermediate status and in particular the control of defence. The British Government modified its views to the extent of accepting an Indian Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council, the Commander-in-Chief to retain complete control of the strategic and operational spheres. Agreement might have been reached on this, but the Congress Party went farther. It asked, in fact, for the immediate appointment of an Indian cabinet, responsible, however, to no one but itself or perhaps the members of the Congress Party.

The Moslem League, on the other hand, preferred the continuance of the *status quo*, and if that were not possible, the adoption of Pakistan or the right of the communities to keep outside the proposed Indian Union. They were apprehensive of any possibility of being governed by a Hindu majority. The National Liberal Party asked for Dominion status, but was prepared to wait until after the war for it to be constituted. The Native States were satisfied to remain as they were. The Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes, and the other smaller communities were apprehensive of any change, feeling that their liberties would not be safe in the hands of either the Hindus or the Moslems.

In the meanwhile Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalachariav, a prominent member of the Congress Party, put forward a

Four Point programme of his own, one which he hoped would offer a compromise fair to all parties. His programme was (a) to form a united national front; (b) to come to a working understanding with the Moslem League; (c) to labour for a national government at the centre; (d) to raise a vast, countrywide Home Guard to resist aggression from all quarters. The Moslem League was not altogether opposed to this programme, but the National Congress would have none of it, and its author was forced to resign from the Congress.

The next step was taken by the Viceroy at the beginning of July. With the approval of the Home Government he enlarged his Council by three members. One of the new portfolios, that of Indian Defence, went to an Indian, but the British general commanding the forces remained on the Council as Commander-in-Chief. By this measure the Council was enlarged to fifteen members, of whom eleven were Indians, and only three, including the Commander-in-Chief, officials. Simultaneously, two Indians, one of them a member of the Order of Princes, were appointed members of the British War Cabinet. In the meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi, who had hitherto kept somewhat in the background, came forward. He quickly formulated an extreme programme, rejecting emphatically the British proposals, with or without amendment, and demanding the immediate grant of independence to India and the setting up of a National Government, responsible apparently only to the Indian National Congress. If the British did not immediately withdraw from India, Mr. Gandhi threatened a nation-wide movement of non-co-operation, 'the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale'. This programme was adopted, with few dissentients, by the All-India Congress Committee on 8 August 1942. The Indian Government acted promptly. Mr. Gandhi and the other Congress leaders were at once arrested and interned: the Indian Congress Party was proscribed. Simultaneously the President of the Moslem League, which was bitterly opposed to the Congress policy, not so much out of loyalty or gratitude to Britain as for fear of Hindu domination, warned the

Congress Party against interfering in any way with Indian Moslems. The several other parties among the Indians also opposed the Congress policy.

The prompt action taken by the Viceroy, with the support of his Council which was overwhelmingly Indian in personnel, succeeded in preventing any serious disturbance or interference with the war effort. There were a few minor riots and outrages in the course of which a few policemen and a larger number of members of the mob were killed, but these had no serious effect. The position of the principal Indian parties has already been defined. Of other parties there were the Hindu Mahasabha or Orthodox Organization and the Radical Democratic Party.

The Mahasabha is a social and cultural Hindu organization, whose emergence as a political party is mainly due to the growth of a strong Moslem organization. To some extent its membership overlaps with that of the Congress Party. The Mahasabha, however, is distinguished from Congress first by its exclusively Hindu character; and, secondly, by the fact that it is not tainted with theories of non-violence in regard either to the defence of the Hindu community in India or in defence of India against external aggression. Accordingly the Mahasabha, while not officially associating itself with the war effort, unofficially encouraged recruiting and remained aloof from the obstruction practised by Congress. According to the working committee's resolution of 31 August 1942, the Mahasabha stood for the immediate independence of India, and the formation of a composite national government for the prosecution of the war. Like Congress, it took the view that only under an independent Indian Government would the Indian people develop that will to resist aggression which was necessary for the successful conduct of the war. When it comes, however, to the question of agreement between the parties on the basis of a national government, the Mahasabha parts company with Congress. The Mahasabha will not hear of power being transferred—as Mr. Gandhi had suggested it might be—to a Moslem League Government, and the word Pakistan is anathema. Even the Congress proposal that the Moslem demand might

be met through a federal constitution, leaving residuary powers to the Provinces, is rejected. The opinion of the Mahasabha is that in the interests of the unity and integrity of India the residuary powers must be vested in the centre and not in federating units. It demanded an immediate declaration by Britain of India's independence, the initiation of negotiations by the British Government with the principal political parties in India to solve the deadlock and the formation of an Indian National Government to which all power should be transferred. This Government should consist of representatives of the principal political parties. Similar governments should be formed in the Provinces. After the termination of the war a Constituent Assembly should be set up to frame a constitution based on democratic principles. Any minority not satisfied with the safeguards laid down in the constitution should have the right to refer the matter to an independent tribunal, whose decision would be binding. The Indian National Government would pursue the policy of militarization and industrialization for the effective national defence of India and raise a national army for the purpose. The announcement ended with a threat if the British Government persisted 'in its policy of callous indifference to India's national aspirations'.

The Radical Democratic Party is strongly anti-Fascist, with a left-wing social and economic policy, and was the only party officially associated with the war effort and actively supporting the Government. It includes a number of Communists or ex-Communists. The Radical Democratic Party influences labour through the Indian Federation of Labour. The constitution it favours as envisaged by Mr. M. N. Roy, its leader, visualizes a bi-cameral federal government at the centre, both chambers sitting together with a governor-general, and forming a supreme people's council. A federal union would be formed by autonomous provinces created by the provisional government as far as possible on a basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity and freely agreeing to unite in the federation. The federal union would be a member of a larger federation, the British Commonwealth, provided that it was called an Indo-British Commonwealth

of Free Peoples, and India's membership of the Indo-British Commonwealth would be stipulated by a treaty. After the formation of a federal union the federating units would have an inherent right to secede.

A smaller Moslem party, organized in the all-India Momin Conference, which claims to number four and a half million members of the artisan and lower classes—it has been described as the Moslem 'Depressed Classes'—is bitterly opposed to Pakistan and advocates a federation or confederacy which would attempt to reconcile the views of Moslems and Hindus.

The two extremes are those of the Moslem League whose leader, Mr. Jinnah, has told his followers that if the need arises they should seize the territories that belong to them and begin to administer them, and the Hindu Mahasabha, who hold that Pakistan is to be resisted at all costs. Midway stands the Indian Liberal Federation which appealed to the leaders of all other parties to co-operate in the immediate formation of composite national governments both at the centre and in the Provinces, the central government to be accepted as that of a Dominion. This coalition should place support of the war effort in the foreground of its programme and should set matters of controversy aside until the end of the war. The famous or notorious 'Quit India' resolution of the Indian National Congress should be permitted to pass into oblivion and become a dead letter.

The attitude of the Indian princes was outlined by the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. Speaking in London, where he was one of the representatives of India in the War Cabinet, he said that the basic demands of the States were, first, the maintenance of their treaty rights under the aegis of the British Crown, and, second, effective and sufficient safeguards. The treaties, engagements, and *sanads*, were regarded by the Princes as matters of vital concern. He described the Cripps Mission as disappointing from the point of view of the Princes, who were disturbed by the statement in the draft Declaration that it would be necessary to negotiate a revision of the treaty arrangements with individual States. The States feared that compulsory revision was contemplated.

Mr. Gandhi was released from detention in the middle of 1944—his health had been causing some anxiety. His attitude after his release seemed less intransigent both to the British and to the Moslems. It was even suggested that he was willing to concede the principle of Pakistan in return for Moslem support of his demand for Indian independence, and Moslem co-operation with the Congress Party in a provisional government. After some negotiation and delay he and Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Moslem League, met in a conference to see whether a *modus vivendi* could not be reached. The talks were prolonged, but in the end they failed. Agreement still seemed unattainable. In the correspondence that was subsequently published Mr. Gandhi's position was made clear. He said that his life's mission was Hindu-Moslem unity which could not be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted; hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination was the achievement of independence by joint action among the bodies and groups in India. A constitution would be framed by the provisional government or by an authority set up by it after the British power had withdrawn. A basis for the formation of an interim government would have to be agreed upon between the Moslem League and the Congress Party. A demarcation commission would be appointed by the provisional government. The form of the plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion. Power was to be transferred to the provisional government. The formula contemplated a peaceful transfer by the British Government.

In reply Mr. Jinnah said the only solution of India's problem was to accept the division of the country and proceed to settle details forthwith. The achievement of independence before the settlement of the Pakistan issue was putting the cart before the horse. The Congress 'Quit India' resolution he described as basically and fundamentally opposed to the ideals of Moslem India. If the Congress Party succeeded in securing its demands as expressed in that resolution it would be the death-blow to Moslem India.

In the spring of 1945 Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy, came to London for discussions. After his return to India in June,

the Indian Party leaders were invited at once to co-operate in the central and provincial administrations, without prejudice to future changes in the constitution. Simultaneously the members of the Congress Working Committee and other political prisoners who had been under detention since 1942 were released. The offer met acceptance from the Indian political leaders up to a point. They responded to the Viceroy's invitation to suggest names for inclusion in the Viceroy's Executive Council or cabinet, all of whom, excepting the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, would have been Indians, and one of whom would have been Foreign Minister, and were willing for the Viceroy to make a selection from the lists. But one difficulty at once rose, the demand of the Moslem League for the sole right of representation of the Moslem community, ignoring the claims to representation of Moslems who are not members of the League. In the absence of acceptance of this claim the Moslem League declined to put forward nominees. It was on this point that the negotiations, which were at first so promising, broke down.

On the accession to power of a Labour Government in England another attempt to solve the problem was made. Lord Wavell came again to London and, after a short interval, new proposals were announced. General elections were to be held in all the provinces and it was hoped that from the Assemblies thereby elected responsible governments would be chosen in the Provinces. As soon as possible after the completion of these elections the British Government proposed to set up a constitution-making body with which to negotiate a treaty defining a constitution. An Executive Council was also to be set up at the centre, composed as a temporary measure, of representative Indians drawn from all the principal parties. The elections, which were held at the end of the year, gave the Indian Congress and Moslem League candidates respectively the practical monopoly of the representation of the two principal communities. In March 1946 three British cabinet ministers were sent to India. Together with the Viceroy they laboured with intensity for three months. More than once they



seemed to be at the point of grasping success, but it always eluded them. The settlement which had to be imposed in the end met with no serious opposition from either of the two great parties. It provided for the appointment by the Viceroy, pending the election of a constituent assembly, of a provisional cabinet with dominion authority to draw up a constitution. It was intended that the members of this interim cabinet should form a coalition whose members would be acceptable to both the Indian Congress and the Moslem League, but even this limited agreement proved unattainable. The constitution proposed by the Cabinet Mission was briefly a Union of India, comprising both British India and the Princely States. Foreign affairs, defence and communications would be dealt with by the Central Government. All other matters would be the concern of the Provinces which would be free to form groups with their own executives and legislatures. India so organized would form a sovereign independent state.

**India, French:** The first French expedition to India is said to have been sent by Francis I in the early sixteenth century, but that was never heard of again. In 1604 the French established an India trading company but this failed. In 1615 two French ships were sent to India, one of which returned. In 1642 the French Indian Company was definitely established. The first 'factory' or trading centre was founded at Surat in 1668. In 1674 the French occupied Pondicherry. After the outbreak of war between the British and the French in 1745, the rivalry of the two nations in India came to a head. At first the French were successful and only one small English settlement, near Pondicherry, was left. These successes gave a fillip to French ambitions, and Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, began to dream of a great French Indian empire. The protagonist on the other side was Clive. The end came in 1761 when nowhere in India the French flag any longer flew. After four years Pondicherry was restored to the French. In 1778 and again in 1793 it was retaken and restored. Since 1814 it has remained French. The French possessions in India now consist of five small detached colonies of a total area of about 196 square miles and a

population of about 300,000. The principal crops are rice, manioc, and ground nuts.

**India, Portuguese:** see Portuguese Colonies

**Indians in Natal:** There are about a quarter of a million Indians in South Africa, 90 per cent of them living in Natal. The first came to South Africa in 1860 when Natal needed labour for sugar fields. They came under indenture but later indentured labourers were followed by free labourers. Immigration was checked first by an Act of 1897 and later by a language test and later by a stricter Act of 1913. The sentiment grew more and more hostile, partly on account of commercial competition. In 1893 the Natal Government, most of them born in South Africa, passed a Parliamentary and in 1924 the municipal franchise Act.

Following the Indian labourers a class of religious converts arrived to conduct trade among their own people with the natural corollary of the acquisition of the franchise 'penetration'. This caused serious opposition among the European population, with the result that the Areas of Residence Act was passed prohibiting such acquisition in Natal and the Transvaal and restricting their privileges.

By 1940 the number of Indians in Natal had reached 195,000 against a European population of 201,900. Four years earlier the census showed 183,661 Asiatics, mostly Indians, in Natal and 36,030 in other parts of the Union. Immigration of Indians from one province of the Union to another has been prohibited and the number of Indians in Natal must, therefore, continually increase.

In August 1948 the Reciprocity Amendment Bill, designed as a reply to South Africa's 'Pegging Act' of the same year which deprived Indians of the right to purchase or occupy property except by special permission of the Government, was passed by the Council of State (Indian Upper House). This empowered the Government to impose on nationals of other countries in India the same disabilities as those imposed on Indians in those countries. The South African Government decided thereupon to replace the 'Pegging Act', and the

Occupation Ordinance was drafted, providing for the  
a Board consisting of two Europeans and two  
for the chairmanship of a third European of legal  
experience. The Board was to deal with the  
social occupation and to have the power to define  
predominantly European, and what predomi-  
nantly Asiatic, areas; and in those two areas the *status quo*  
was to be maintained for the time being. In the third area,  
where the population is mixed, the Board was to have the  
right to the right of appeal to the Administrator  
Executive Council, to grant or refuse licences,  
and the declaration of Durban as a closed area was with-

drawals were prepared to accept this compromise, but  
the Provincial Council rejected it, substituting far  
more anti-Indian legislation, and applying it to the  
territory. This provided for the control of all trans-  
actions between Europeans and Asiatics, for the acquisition  
and alienation of dwellings of all kinds. The Governor-  
General disallowed the ordinance on the ground that it was  
discriminatory. The Pegging Act expired at the end of March  
1946, and the South African Government substituted for it  
legislation prohibiting the purchase or lease by Indians of  
property, except in certain areas, but in compensation  
granted communal representation in Provincial Councils and  
in Parliament. Indians refused to accept this decision and  
India broke off trade relations with South Africa and made  
a formal complaint of discrimination to the United Nations  
Organization.

**Indo-China, French:** Cochin China, Annam, Cambodia,  
Tonking, and the Laos Territory, forming together the  
French Empire in south-eastern Asia. It adjoins China,  
Siam, and Burma, and covers an area of about 286,000 square  
miles with a population of almost 24 millions, of whom  
about 42,000 are Europeans (41,285 French). The people of  
Cochin China, Annam and Tonking, which once formed the  
Empire of Annam, who comprise five-sixths of the total  
population, look towards China. The others are Buddhists  
and are subject to influences from India. This empire

began with the acquisition of Cochin China. The most recent addition of territory was in 1907 Cambodia was ceded by Siam. To the Japanese against China the occupation of Indo-China was of great value. In their ulterior objects, which themselves later, it was even more so. They came to them with the collapse of France and demand after the other was pressed on them conceded with not very great reluctance. July 1941, the entire country was occupied and used by them as a base of attack on the Indo-China was used also as the base from which the Japanese invaded British Malaya.

In March 1945 the French Council of Ministers decided that after the expulsion of the Japanese, Indo-China be reorganized as a federal union, with a large measure of autonomy, a part of the greater French 'Union'. The Indo-Chinese Federation, under the protection of the governor-general, is to have its own Government of Ministers drawn from Indo-Chinese and French residents in Indo-China. Each of the four territories of Indo-China—Annam and Tonking were later combined. The State of Viet-Nam (q.v.)—will have its own administration and its own Assembly, elected in the way best suited to its treaty rights, traditions, or cultural level. According to the official declaration, 'social and cultural improvement' in the States 'will be furthered in the same way as their political and administrative improvement'.

The constitutional changes proposed by the French did not, however, satisfy the people or, at any rate, their spokesmen. The appetite for political independence had been aroused and fed during the Japanese occupation, and if the performance had fallen short of the promise the appetite still remained. The withdrawal of the Japanese was welcomed, but the return of the French was looked on askance. A state of civil war supervened, in which the British military forces, which had been the first to enter the country after the armistice, were an unwilling third party. In the end an Indo-Chinese Federation was formed within

French Union. Viet-Nam and Cochin China being  
is republics and Cambodia a constitutional  
but Laos enjoying a far more elementary form of  
nent under a native king.

a produces rice, rubber, anthracite, zinc, and  
The industries, apart from agriculture, planta-  
ining, comprise cement, brick-making, and  
g.

see Netherlands Indies.

flation is caused by a considerable increase  
power without a corresponding increase of  
e for purchase. The consequence is that, with  
ply of money, high prices can be paid and with  
plies and the consequent great competition for  
ce of these supplies rises. The result is that the  
ommodities rises, and although the wages of  
ise the purchasing power of wages does not rise  
and in the end no one is better off. In fact  
rings hardship in the end to all classes except some  
eculators, but especially to those with fixed incomes  
remain stationary or rise only to a small extent. In  
extreme cases of inflation, such as those of Germany and  
Austria a few years after the First World War, all wealth, not  
based directly on material goods, land, houses, etc., dis-  
appears, that is to say money and loans repayable in money  
become worthless and most of the savings of the people melt  
away. Governments called on to make great expenditure, as  
in war-time, are always greatly tempted to manufacture  
currency without limit. By this means they are enabled  
momentarily to meet calls on them, but bankruptcy, with the  
overwhelming evils it entails in the case of a government, is  
inevitable. Incidentally, inflation raises the prices of all  
imported goods ultimately to a figure that renders them  
unpurchasable.

**International Justice, Permanent Court of:** see Perma-  
nent Court of International Justice.

**International Labour Organization:** This organization  
was created in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles. Its purpose  
was, in furtherance of the principles of social justice, to lay

down equitable conditions of labour and to induce governments to take steps towards the incorporation of those conditions in their national legislation. The Organization works through an International Labour Office seated at Geneva (in 1940 it was temporarily removed to Montreal), and a General Conference which is convened whenever there is a sufficient number of subjects for consideration. Sovereign states are eligible for representation at these conferences by six delegates, one of whom should represent organized employers and another organized labour. At the conclusion of the conferences the states represented at them are free to adopt or reject their recommendations. The International Labour Organization was in effect a part of the League of Nations. It was, however, independent of the League. Non-members of the League were eligible for membership of the Organization and some—for instance the United States of America—have been members. The League of Nations came to an end in effect with the holding of the San Francisco Conference (q.v.). The International Labour Office continued its existence, but its relationship to the new organization was somewhat obscure.

**International, The Third:** see Comintern.

**Ionian Islands** (see also Corfu): The Ionian Islands are a string of islands, a part of the kingdom of Greece, lying off the west coast of the mainland. They consist of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cythera or Cerigo, Paxo, and a number of islets. A part of the Eastern Empire, the first of the islands passed to Venice in 1204, the last in 1717. In 1797 France took the islands but was expelled in the following year. Then for seven years (1800 to 1807) they formed an independent state: the Septinsular Republic. Once again they passed to France, but the British gradually drove the French from them and, until 1864, the United States of the Ionian Islands were a British Protectorate. In the meanwhile Greece had obtained her independence and then, after a further interval, Britain voluntarily transferred the Protectorate to that kingdom in which the islands were incorporated. Fascist Italy always coveted the islands, especially Corfu, and in 1923, without any justification

bombarded and landed troops in that island. When, with the assistance of Germany, the Greeks were forced out of Albania in 1940, Italy at once occupied Corfu and the other six soon passed under Italian or German administration.

**Iran:** see Persia.

**Iran, Anglo-Soviet Treaty with:** A Treaty of Alliance, signed at Teheran (29 January 1942), under which the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Persia or Iran were guaranteed and an undertaking was given to defend them against Germany or any other power, with the co-operation of the Persian Government. The Persian forces were, however, to be employed only in preserving order in the country, but means of communication, labour, and other services were to be at the disposal of the Allies. These Allies were entitled to keep armed forces in Persia until six months after the termination of hostilities. Britain and Russia undertook to safeguard as far as possible the economic existence of the Iranian people.

**Iraq:** Until the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Iraq consisted of three vilayets of the Ottoman Empire—Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra. They had been conquered and occupied by British troops and shortly after the Armistice their inhabitants, in common with those of other Arab lands subject to the Porte, were promised in a joint British-French proclamation on 7 November 1918 'administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations'. The Mandate for Iraq, when granted to Britain in May 1920, repeated in general this promise, although it deferred indefinitely the fulfilment of it. The population, however, mainly Arab but to some extent Kurd, was not satisfied with this deferment. Unrest developed and it was not long before a rebellion broke out. The demand was for immediate independence and a union with Syria. The rebellion was suppressed but succeeded to the extent that the Iraqians were given a share in the administration of their country and the appearance, if not the reality, of sovereign independence. In August 1921 the Amir Feisal, the commander of the Allied Arab forces during the war, who had been driven from Syria by the French, was proclaimed, with

British support, King of Iraq and soon secured the allegiance of his people.

The Mandate for Iraq was unique in that in view of the delicacy of the state of affairs it was granted before it was drafted. When it was at length drafted in October 1922, it was accompanied by a treaty between Britain and the new state. The Treaty, while reciting the desire of both parties for an early termination of the Mandate, gave no definite period for its duration. This was remedied by a protocol, signed in April 1923, which laid down that the Mandate would terminate not later than four years after the signature of the treaty of peace with Turkey and that Britain should at the same time take steps to secure the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations. The state of unrest, however, continued and Iraq was for some years a source of military preoccupation and expense to the British. There were, however, two considerable British interests in Iraq—the oil-fields and the strategic value of the Iraqi harbours at the head of the Persian Gulf. Later came the right of way for British aeroplanes over Iraqi territory. The allocation of the Mosul vilayet with its rich oilfields was for some time a cause of dispute between Britain and France—under an earlier secret treaty this should have formed part of the French sphere—but the latter Power ultimately gave way and agreed to the inclusion of the vilayet in the British sphere. Difficulties with the Turkish revolutionary government then followed, but these were also settled. A treaty between Great Britain, Turkey, and Iraq, signed at Ankara on 5 June 1926, settled all outstanding differences with Turkey. The frontier difficulties with another neighbour, Persia, were not settled until 1929 when normal relations between them were established.

A further British treaty, signed at Baghdad in 1930, granted further concessions to Iraq. Each party undertook to support the other in the event of war. In all matters of foreign policy there was to be full consultation between Britain and Iraq. British air bases were to be provided at Basra and near the Euphrates, and British troops were to remain in Iraq for five years. An application was then made



for admission to the League of Nations. This was very strongly supported by the British Government and ultimately granted although after some hesitation (3 October 1932). There was no definite provision in the Treaty for the protection of the minorities of which there were several, especially in the Mosul region. Prominent among them were the Assyrian-Chaldaean Christians. These, although Turkish subjects, had enrolled almost to a man during the war, in the British Army, and in consequence had, at its end, emigrated *en masse* from their homes in Asia Minor to the Mosul Vilayet where they hoped to live under British protection. (See Assyrian Christians.)

Faisal's government had trouble with other minority groups, particularly the Kurds, who had earlier been given some reason to hope that an independent Kurdistan would be created. However, the Iraqi government treated the Kurds very sympathetically and in the end they were reconciled to the new régime.

The premature death of King Faisal in 1933 was a great loss to Iraq and also to Britain whom he understood, and whose interests he considered coincided with those of his kingdom. His son and successor, Ghazi, died six years later and the crown then passed to a child. After the death of Faisal, misunderstandings and differences arose between Britain and Iraq. Internal differences also showed themselves and during these years the waters of Iraq were troubled. Occasionally there was a revolt in one part or other of the kingdom. The causes of these disturbances were several. To a large extent they were directed against British influence. To some extent they were influenced by German agents. The unrest in Palestine also had its echoes. The Iraqis were, to a man, pro-Arab in the dispute between Arab and Jew in Palestine. In October 1936 there was a military *coup d'état* as a consequence of which the cabinet was superseded and its members left the country, with the exception of General Jafar Pasha, a staunch British supporter and a general of the Arab Revolt, who was murdered. In the following August the military dictator, General Bekir Sidqi, was himself assassinated and the exiled ministers returned.

The state of unrest, however, continued and on one occasion (in March 1939) a former prime minister and a number of officers were arrested and convicted of conspiracy.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 diplomatic relations with Germany were broken off, but German intrigues continued, much use being made of the still unsolved Arab-Jewish problem in Palestine. There were frequent cabinet crises, and General Nuri es Said, one of Faisal's principal lieutenants in the Arab Revolt and a staunch supporter of the British Alliance, passed in and out of office as Prime Minister or Foreign Minister. In March 1940, Sayyid Rashid el Gailani, a member of one of the leading Moslem families, returned to office as Prime Minister. The entry of Italy into the war followed shortly afterwards and Rashid's failure to break off relations with that Power showed that his friendship for or confidence in Britain was not altogether wholehearted. This tendency became more apparent as time passed and one by one his most trustworthy ministers resigned from the Cabinet. At the same time Rashid approached closer to the group of ambitious soldiers, known as 'the Golden Square'. In the end Rashid was forced to resign, but his successor, General Taha el Hashimi, was unable to maintain himself against 'the Golden Square', who seized power on 1st April and appointed Rashid prime minister, with a cabinet of military officers. The British thereupon landed troops in Iraq, having the right to do so under the Treaty. The Iraqi Government at first acquiesced, but when reinforcements were sent, objection was raised and the Iraqi army attacked the British. Germany sent aeroplanes through Syria to the assistance of the Iraqis but the 'war' was of short duration. The hostility to the British rested only in a section of the army. This was quickly defeated in battle and Rashid, accompanied by his principal supporters, fled first to Tehran, later to Berlin. The Germans had already left the country. General Nuri es-Said and the other exiled ex-ministers thereupon returned and relations were broken off with Italy. Later, in January 1943, Iraq declared war on Germany and finally joined the United Nations.

**Ireland:** see Eire.

**Ireland, Northern:** The six counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone, a part of the Province of Ulster, were constituted an entity with a considerable measure of self-government by means of a Governor, a cabinet, and a parliament, in 1922, when the remainder of Ireland was given the status of a British Dominion with absolute independence. Northern Ireland remained an integral part of the United Kingdom with representation in the Imperial Parliament. Under the Treaty by which the Irish Free State was constituted, the union between Northern and Southern Ireland rested entirely with Northern Ireland. Britain was not prepared to intervene, but, if Northern Ireland consented, the powers of the Imperial Parliament there would pass to the Parliament of the Free State. Michael Collins, the head of the Government of the Free State, was prepared to be very accommodating in order to secure the union, but the Government of Northern Ireland was adamant and the separation has persisted, to be a source of continuous friction and an unsleeping grievance so far as Southern Ireland is concerned. Northern Ireland even refused to appoint a commissioner to draw the boundary between the two states and Britain had to do so in its place.

**Irish Boundary:** By the Irish Free State Acts of 1922 and 1924 Ireland was partitioned between the Irish Free State (later Eire, q.v.) and Northern Ireland (q.v.). Neither part of Ireland liked the partition, but the Government of the Irish Free State acquiesced in it. The authorities of Northern Ireland, on the other hand, at first refused to have anything to do with it and it was with difficulty that they could be induced to co-operate in drawing the frontier. Six counties were left to Northern Ireland. The remainder of Ulster was incorporated in the Irish Free State. The Opposition in the Irish Free State took very strong exception to this settlement and in fact to any scheme of partition, and when it came into power later it in effect repudiated it. The Government of Eire had, however, no means of upsetting the agreement, but many bands of its extreme supporters from time to time invaded Northern Ireland and committed outrages there in furtherance, as they presumably thought,

of unity. More constitutional attempts to have the question reopened invariably led to a reference to the Government of Northern Ireland as the one with which an agreement would have to be made.

**Irish Naval Stations:** Under the treaty between Great Britain and the Irish Free State of 6 December 1921, Great Britain was to retain control of the naval stations at Berehaven, Queenstown (Cobh), and Lough Swilly, and aviation facilities in their neighbourhood were to be at the disposal of the British Government. This clause of the Treaty was never fully accepted by the Irish as it was felt that it derogated from their full sovereignty, and by another agreement, made in 1938, the three ports were handed over to the Government of Eire with all their equipment and armament. The loss of these ports was felt by the British in the subsequent war with Germany in which Eire remained neutral.

**Iron Ore:** The world production of iron ore (metal content) in 1939 was about 88 million tons. In the previous year, of the total production the United States was responsible for 38 per cent, the U.S.S.R. 14·3, France 11·7, Sweden 9·3, the United Kingdom 4·4, Germany 2·8, and Luxemburg 2·3.

**Iron, Pig:** The world production of pig iron in 1937 was 104,300,000 tons. Of this total the production of Japan was estimated at 2,635,000 tons or 2·5 per cent. In 1938 the percentages, excluding Japan, were U.S.A. 24, Germany and Austria 23, U.S.S.R. 18·2, the United Kingdom 8·5, and France 7·5.

**Irredentism:** From *Italia irredenta*, unredeemed Italy. Originally an Italian movement, which arose towards the end of the nineteenth century, for the attachment to Italy of the neighbouring Italian-speaking regions—Trieste, Istria, Gorizia, etc., in Austria; Nice and Corsica, in France; and also Malta. The term has since been employed to denote the movement for the annexation to any state of lands inhabited by people of a related origin or language.

**Istanbul** (formerly Constantinople): A city and port on the Bosphorus, founded by Constantine in 328 as an enlargement of the old town of Byzantium, and for long the capital,

in succession, of the Eastern and the Ottoman Empires. In natural situation and in architecture Istanbul is one of the most beautiful cities of the world. It is also the seat of the principal Patriarch of the Orthodox Church. Before the division of the Empire, Constantinople was for a time, with Rome, a twin capital of the united Empire. The city had its vicissitudes before it was taken by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. By them it was made the capital of the Empire and such it remained until 1922 when the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey transferred it to Angora (later Ankara). One reason for this was the disappearance of what had once been a great European empire of Turkey which had shrunk to the city of Constantinople and a small adjacent district. The more important one was the desire to break completely with the past with which the city was almost completely identified.

The population of Istanbul, according to the census of 1940, was 789,346. In 1911 it was believed to number about a million. The cutting off of the port from its hinterland by loss of territory in the years that followed was alone sufficient to account for this diminution. In the pre-war Constantinople the Christians outnumbered the Moslems, Greeks exceeding the Armenians, and Armenians the foreigners who numbered about 130,000.

Istanbul has for long been an object of desire to the Russians who waged successive wars to secure it and its unique strategic situation, controlling the entry to and exit from the Black Sea. In most of the wars with Turkey, Russia was successful, but she was never permitted by the other Powers the attainment of her ambitions. At length, by one of the treaties between the Allies which divided the anticipated booty to be won by the World War, Constantinople was allotted to Russia, but before the distribution could take place the Revolution had supervened and Russia had ceased to be an ally. When the time for distribution came she was therefore ignored. For a time the idea of internationalization of the city and the Straits was considered, but in the end Turkey was permitted to remain there.

See also Montreux Convention.

**I.W.W.:** see Syndicalism.

**Izmir:** see Smyrna.

**Japan:** The Japanese claim that their empire and reigning imperial house date back to the year 660 B.C. From 1186 until 1867 the emperors lived in a spiritual seclusion while their temporal powers were exercised by *shoguns*. In the latter year, however, the last *shogun* resigned and his powers were recovered by the then reigning Emperor. Four years later the feudal system was abolished. The opening of Japan to foreign intercourse began with armed incursions by Russians in the first years of the nineteenth century. Not many years later the North Americans began to show an interest in this mysterious land, off whose shores American whaling vessels frequently sailed. Some of these vessels were occasionally wrecked on its coasts and Japanese vessels were driven by the winds across the Pacific to North America. During the first half of the nineteenth century visits were paid occasionally to Japanese ports by European and American vessels but no permanent intercourse resulted. A visit of a United States squadron in 1853 aroused considerable agitation among the Japanese who considered it a mortal threat. Its purpose was to open Japan to American commerce. So far as the Americans were concerned the visit had no immediate effect, but its influence on the Japanese was great. From that visit can be directly dated the revival of Japan which in the course of a couple of generations made her one of the Great Powers. The following year Commodore Peary returned with a larger fleet. The Japanese at once agreed to make a treaty opening her ports to foreign vessels. Similar treaties were made with Russia, Holland, and Britain. Those treaties did not, however, grant facilities for commerce. These came in 1858, first with the U.S.A., later with the other powers. A short period of obstruction, in the course of which the British and other powers bombarded two Japanese ports, followed. This period was succeeded by further commercial concessions. The year 1866 marked the definite opening of Japan to foreign intercourse. British officers were invited to reorganize the Japanese army: a Japanese representative was sent to the Paris Exhibition.

In 1867 the Emperor actually received the representatives of the foreign Powers. For some thirty years the European and American powers enjoyed the Capitulations (q.v.) in Japan, but this privilege was abolished in 1899, before which year Japan had so developed as to have earned and occupied a position by the side of the Powers of Europe.

This position was made patent by the negotiation in 1902 of an entente with Britain which, three years later, was strengthened into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, both offensive and defensive. In 1907 both France and Russia negotiated similar ententes with Japan. All of these agreements guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire. Previously, in 1894, Japan had been at war with China, whom she had quickly and completely defeated. The conditions of peace (Shimonoseki, 1895) included the surrender by China of Korea, a part of Manchuria, Formosa, and other islands. Russia, Germany, and France, however, intervened to deprive Japan of a part of her spoils. Five years later Japan, under pressure from the European powers, took the lead among them in the rescue of the foreign communities in Peking and Pechili, menaced by a civil war that had broken out. By now Japan was accepted as a first-class military Power.

Japan never forgot the intervention of the Powers in 1895 that had deprived her of some of the fruits of her victory. By her Russia was considered the leader in this intervention and it was with Russia that she foresaw the next trial of strength. The occasion came in 1904. Russia proved to be a colossus with feet of clay and was quickly defeated. Japan was magnanimous in her moment of triumph and accepted moderate terms of settlement. These were agreed to in the Treaty of Portsmouth, U.S.A. (1905). One consequence of the war, however, was the complete absorption of Korea (q.v.), whose independence had previously been recognized, into the Japanese Empire. While relations with Great Britain became cordial those with the United States of America were much cooler. The prejudice against Japanese there was very strong and resulted in very severe restrictions on the settlement or even the visits of Japanese to the Union. At

the same time, in Germany, the Kaiser discovered a threat to Western civilization looming in the East and took steps to preach a crusade against 'the Yellow Peril'. Other differences also arose with the U.S.A. regarding Manchuria and to a less extent China.

On the outbreak of war in 1914, Japan, in accordance with her treaty with Great Britain, declared war on Germany. Her principal task in that war was the subjugation of the German colonies and protectorate in the Far East. In this she was successful and obtained as a reward the former German protectorate of Kiao-Chao (q.v.), on the condition that she would restore it to China who was by then also an ally, and some of the German islands in Melanesia. The much desired recognition by the other Powers of racial equality was, however, refused her. In the discussions on this and other matters the United States showed themselves less friendly to Japan than did the other allies. During the war, taking advantage of the preoccupations of her allies, Japan had forced China to agree to twenty-one demands, the acceptance of which gave her great advantages in China over all other Powers and in fact made China to some extent a Japanese protectorate. Some of these demands were withdrawn later under pressure from the other allies. At the end of the war, Japan participated in the Allied invasion of Russia for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet system and shared in the failure. In the twenty years that followed the World War, Japan's foreign policy became ever more imperialistic and aggressive. Towards this end she was assisted by the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, at which the United States had always looked askance and the need for which, it was suggested, the League of Nations had removed. The Japanese conquest of Manchuria took place in 1931. This was condemned by the League of Nations, whose members never recognized the change of status. The overrunning of Manchuria led to an invasion of China in 1937, which, although never admitted by the Japanese to be a war, only an 'incident', had all the attributes of one. The attack on China led, at the end of 1941, to similar attacks on Britain in the Far East and on the United States. With



Russia, Japan retained a state of uneasy peace or perhaps one should say watchful and unfriendly neutrality until the last week of the war, when Russia declared war and invaded Manchuria. While her relations with the other Powers were worsening, those with Germany and Italy were becoming more cordial, and it was as their ally that she declared war. The agreement for the limitation of naval armaments into which Japan had entered was denounced by her in 1934 and later (1940) Japan joined the Berlin-Rome Axis (q.v.) and resigned from the League of Nations. All the time the control of events passed more and more into the hands of the army and of the extreme and less responsible elements in it. There were many incidents with the British resulting always in anti-British aggression to which the British Government submitted with or without protest.

Somewhat unexpectedly on 6 April 1945 the Soviet Government announced that it intended to denounce the Russo-Japanese neutrality pact of 1941, which was signed before either of these Powers had been involved in the war. By this agreement both Powers undertook to observe a strict neutrality if either became involved in war. Russia accused Japan of having given assistance to Germany in her war with Russia. On the 15th of May Japan cancelled all her treaties with Germany and the other members of the Axis, all of which had by then capitulated to the Allies, and in July Italy declared war on Japan. On the 9th of August Russia, without waiting the end of the period during which the treaty with Japan was still valid, declared war and invaded Manchuria. A fortnight earlier, on 26 July the three Powers assembled at Potsdam, with China substituted for Russia, issued a proclamation, offering Japan the following terms of surrender.

There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security, and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed,

points in Japanese territory designed by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievements of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

The terms of the Cairo declaration<sup>1</sup> shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine.

The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity of leading peaceful and productive lives.

We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race nor destroyed as a nation, but stern justice will be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for fundamental human rights shall be established.

Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and allow the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those industries which will enable her to rearm for war.

To this end access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established, in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people, a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

These terms were accepted by Japan on 9th August 'with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of his

<sup>1</sup> The main stipulations drawn up by the Governments at Cairo (Britain, the U.S.A., and China) were as follows: 'It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.'

Majesty (the Emperor of Japan) as a sovereign ruler'. A few days earlier the American forces had dropped atomic bombs on two large Japanese cities and had almost completely destroyed them with the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives.

In due course United States troops landed in Japan and took over control. Their commander, General MacArthur, was given absolute power over the country and its administration, subject, presumably to the approval of the authorities in Washington. President Truman, it is true, spoke of 'a mixed Allied force', but the army of occupation and control was in effect entirely United States. The other Powers interested, in particular Australia and Russia, showed themselves disinclined to accept this procedure and, after discussions between them, it was agreed that Australian troops should participate in the occupation and later, at the Moscow Conference of December 1945, an Allied Control Council and a Far Eastern Commission were set up (see Moscow Agreement). In the meanwhile, the United States Commander-in-Chief had been proceeding with his task of remodelling the constitution and economic structure of Japan, going so far as to abolish Shintoism as a state religion. The Far Eastern Commission took the place of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission which had been set up two months earlier. This Commission was merely of an advisory character. Its members were to have been representatives of the four principal and of the other Pacific allies, including the Philippines, France, and India. Russia, however, showed little interest in the proposal and as an advisory body the earlier commission was quite ineffective.

The Far Eastern Commission, constituted at Moscow, with its seat in Washington, consists of eleven allied States and will formulate policies, but there will be an inner council of four, the Allied Control Council, sitting in Tokyo, with the Supreme Commander as chairman, to give direct advice to the Supreme Commander, and each of the four will have a power of veto on all decisions of policy within the larger commission.

The organization is extremely complicated but seems to have been formed so as to leave all effective power in the

hands of General MacArthur, the United States Supreme Commander. The United States Government is given a special position quite apart from its membership of these several bodies. In the words of the United States Secretary of State, it is to 'prepare directives in accordance with policy decisions of the Commission and shall transmit them to the Supreme Commander through the appropriate United States Government agency'. In the case of 'urgent matters not covered by policies already covered by the Commission' the United States may further issue certain limited 'directives' of its own. The Supreme Commander is at the same time an officer of the United States Government, 'the sole executive authority for the Allied Powers in Japan', the chairman (and United States member) of the Allied Control Council, and an authority in his own right. The only apparently possible check on his power is the Allied Control Council, of which he is himself the chairman, constituted 'for the purpose of consulting with and advising the Supreme Commander' and at the same time for exercising the 'control authority herein granted'. On 'matters of substance' the decisions of the Supreme Commander shall be 'controlling', but 'on questions concerning a change in the régime of control, fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure, and a change in the Japanese Government as a whole' each member of the Council will have the right of veto. 'In cases of necessity', however, the Supreme Commander has the power to take decisions 'concerning the change of individual Ministers of the Japanese Government'. As the United States Secretary of State pointed out, 'While the communiqué contained the reservation that changes in the Government as a whole could not be made without permission of the Far Eastern Commission, General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander, had in fact powers to appoint a whole new Government by naming Ministers one by one'.

Finally the United States member of the Commission can always veto any decision, 'and the policies could then be continued uninterrupted under General MacArthur's powers to take interim action'.

The population of Japan at the end of 1939 was estimated at 72,520,000 or 278 to the square mile. Its principal products are rice, sulphuric acid, phosphates, potatoes, barley, wheat, rye, cement, and magnesium. Its principal minerals, are copper, zinc, gold, and lead. Silk and rayon are also produced on a large scale. Japan's manufactured exports include cotton tissues, machinery, paper, and drugs and chemicals. With the low standard of living prevalent among the labouring class, Japan has shown herself a serious competitor with other manufacturing countries.

See also Moscow Agreement, The.

**Java:** A large island in the Malay Archipelago, 48,504 square miles in extent (including the smaller island of Madura, 51,032½); the seat of government of the Netherlands Indies (q.v.). Java is the most thickly populated of regions, with almost 1,000 inhabitants (41,718,364 in 1930, of whom 192,571 were Europeans, 582,431 Chinese) to the square mile: the great majority of its inhabitants are Moslems of Malay stock. They fall into three groups, Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese, of which the first, the largest, is the most advanced. The principal town is Batavia, the capital. The main agricultural products are rice, sugar, coffee, rubber, oil palms, and tea. The principal mineral products are oil, coal, and tin. Of recent years industry has made rapid strides.

When Java first came into the light of history the island was under the control of the Hindus. The invasion of Islam at the beginning of the fifteenth century brought the era of Hindu control to an end. About the year 1520 the Portuguese appeared as traders. Eighty years later the Dutch followed them. Two centuries passed before the island passed entirely into Dutch possession and then, in 1811, it was taken by the British. After seven years the Dutch regained possession. A revolt of the Javanese, which lasted five years, was suppressed in 1830, but the influence of its leader, Dipa Negara, survived for many years and is even to-day still living in out-of-the-way and unexpected corners. Until, however, the Japanese invasion at the beginning of 1942 the position of the Dutch grew continually stronger.

During the vacuum between the Japanese surrender and

the entry into Java of Allied troops the advocates of independence found their opportunity and took advantage of it. Under the lead of Dr. Soekarno they quickly gained control of the greater part of the island, declared a republic (14 August 1945) and set up a constitution and an administration. The British military authorities who comprised by far the greater part of the Allied armies at first endeavoured to occupy a neutral position, but events—especially the threatened danger to the large number of European: Dutch, British and others: inmates of prisoner of war and internment camps—compelled active intervention, and fighting, with appreciable casualties, soon broke out between the British forces and the local republicans.

**Julian March, The:** Venezia Giulia (q.v.).

**Jute:** Practically the whole of the world's supply of jute comes from India; 2,280,000 tons in 1940 out of a total of 2,290,000.

**Karelia:** region in Northern Europe, until 1940 divided between Russia and Finland. The population is of Finnish stock, but less Europeanized than the Finns. Karelia was a possession of Sweden in that kingdom's great period, but as a consequence of the war between Charles XII and Peter the Great of Russia, it passed to Russia (1721). On the break-up of the Russian Empire in 1918 Karelia was divided between Russia and Finland. There was some sympathy expressed in Finland with the Karelians living under Soviet conditions, but at the conclusion of the war between Russia and Finland in 1940, the whole of the Karelian isthmus, including Viborg (or Viipuri), the second city of the Republic, was ceded to Russia and this was confirmed on the submission of Finland to Russia in 1945.

**Kellogg Pact, The:** An agreement between the United States of America, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Poland, entered into on the 27 August 1928, by which 'persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made . . . convinced that all changes (of states) in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful

and orderly process, and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interest by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty' and 'hopeful that . . . all the other nations of the world will join . . . in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy', the contracting powers condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounced it as an instrument of national policy. They agreed that the settlement of all disputes and conflicts between them should in future be sought only by pacific means. The wording of the treaty was identical with that of a draft of a Franco-American treaty proposed by M. Briand in June 1927 out of which proposal the Kellogg Pact developed. By the end of 1928 forty-six other states, including the Union of Soviet Republics, had adhered to the Pact.

The French, in signing the Pact, did so subject to 'universal adherence', and retained the right of legitimate defence. They also laid down that if one contracting power broke its pledge all would be absolved from it. The British Government, when signing the Treaty, reserved the right to take up arms in defence of its interests in certain regions which it considered vital to its welfare. The Kellogg Pact derives its name from Frank B. Kellogg who was at the time United States Secretary of State.

**Keynes Plan:** see Clearing Unions, International.

**Khalif, The (Caliph):** The spiritual head of the world-wide community of Islam, the first to hold the office being Abu Bakr (d. 634), the successor of Mohammed. The last of the Khalifs was the Turkish Abdul Majid, but he held the office for little more than eighteen months at the end of which period it was abolished. A few days later King Husein of the Hejaz was proclaimed Khalif, but he had little support outside of his own kingdom. In 1926 a Moslem congress was held in Cairo. It was widely, although not universally, representative and the question of the Khalifate was then considered. The conclusion reached there was that the office was essential to Islam, but that the occasion for filling it was then not suitable.

**Kiaochow:** A part of the promontory of Shantung in China, of about 117 square miles, which was seized by Germany in 1897 as a punishment for the murder of two German missionaries. The territory was subsequently leased to Germany for 99 years. The principal town is Tsingtao. On the outbreak of war between Germany and Japan in 1914 Japan immediately besieged Tsingtao. The siege lasted a week, at the end of which the port capitulated. Japan administered Kiaochow until after the end of the war and in 1922 restored it to China in accordance with the Washington Agreement (q.v.).

**Königsberg:** The capital of the province of East Prussia, a naval and military fortress and a port with a population (1939) of 368,433, almost entirely German. The town arose in the thirteenth century around the nucleus of a castle of the Teutonic Order of Knights. In 1340 it joined the Hanseatic League. Throughout its history it has been German territory, but was occupied by the Russians in 1758 and the French in 1807. Apart from being one of the principal ports of Germany, Königsberg has or had many industries—shipbuilding, printing, machinery, chemicals, etc. At the end of the German War in 1945 Russia took possession of the city and expelled its German inhabitants, the other Allied Powers acquiescing. Königsberg University, founded in 1544, is famous as a centre of the study of philosophy, Kant, von Herder, and Herbart being among its teachers.

**Korea:** A peninsula in eastern Asia between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. From 1644 to 1895 Korea was a nominally independent kingdom under Chinese suzerainty. It then passed under Japanese influence and was annexed by Japan in 1910, becoming the province of Chosen of the Japanese Empire. At the Cairo Conference of November 1948 the rulers of Great Britain, the United States, and China agreed that on the liberation of Korea from the Japanese yoke she should be declared free and independent. The area of Korea is 85,230 square miles and the population 21,058,300 of whom 387,000 are Japanese and 46,000 Chinese. The main industry is agriculture, but there are rich deposits of



minerals which are as yet little worked. The future of Korea was dealt with in the Moscow Agreement (q.v.).

**Kuomintang:** The Radical party in Chinese politics, which came to the fore after the Revolution of 1912. It was opposed to any form of government of the character of a dictatorship and demanded one by the representatives of the people. The Kuomintang went so far as to establish an independent Government in Canton in 1916. Its first leader was Sun Yat-Sen. Later Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Government in the long war with Japan, was also head of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang was in fact founded by Sun Yat-Sen who in his will provided it with a programme. This was (a) democratic government, (b) an improved standard of living for the people, (c) the recovery of the rights enjoyed by foreigners at the expense of the Chinese. Of these three objects the second and third were to be given preference over the first.

**Kurds, The:** The Kurds are a Central Asian (Turanian) people whose history goes back to Biblical times. To the Assyrians they were known as Gutu or Kardu. In that period they retained their independence. Later, after having joined forces with the Medes, they were subdued by Cyrus King of Persia. At the time of the retreat of the Ten Thousand they were known as Carduchi. Later they passed successively under the control of the Macedonians, the Parthians, the Sassanians, and through successive phases under the Ottoman Turks. Their greatest son was Saladin, foeman of the Crusaders and ruler of Egypt. From the twelfth century onwards the Kurds for a long period enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, sometimes independence. In the nineteenth century there was a struggle for independence which lasted sporadically from 1830 to 1880. Until 1880 Kurds and Armenians, living as neighbours, were on excellent terms with one another. Even as late as 1880 there was much friendship between them, but during the intervening period and later until the fall of Tsarism, the Russians were continually stirring up trouble among the Armenians, and encouraging strife between them and the Kurds, hoping thereby to create an excuse for intervention

and the annexation of Turkish territory. In the abortive Treaty of Sèvres it was proposed to detach from Turkey the districts inhabited mainly by Kurds and to create of them an independent state.

The Kurds, who number about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions— $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions in Turkey, half a million in Iraq, and the remainder in Persian Kurdistan—are now distributed between these three states. Some are nomads: some are settled. They are, as a rule, organized in tribes. Largely impatient of control and interference, they are in consequence frequently a cause of trouble to their rulers. In many respects their manner of life is still medieval and their chieftains with their retinues often remind one of the period of the Crusaders. They are all Moslems of the Sunni rite and are by no means intellectually backward, having supplied in recent times statesmen, even Grand Viziers, to the Sultan and members to the professions.

**Kuriles, The:** A string of volcanic islands stretching from Kamchatka, in the north-east of Asiatic Russia, to the northernmost of the islands of Japan, thereby enclosing the Sea of Okotsk. The population numbers 4,450 and the islands have been the headquarters of the Japanese deep-sea fisheries. They are as a rule fog-bound, but are considered by both the Russians and the Japanese of considerable strategic importance, and in view of their connexion with the Aleutian Islands, which stretch to the North American Continent, of interest to the United States also. Until 1875 the Kuriles were practically ownerless, although they served as a hunting-ground for Russian fur traders. In that year they were allotted to Japan by a treaty between that Power and Russia. At the Yalta Conference (q.v.) in February 1945 the islands were by a secret agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, allotted to the last-named Power, although it was at the time on terms of friendship with Japan, and at the conclusion of the war in 1945 they were occupied by Russia.

**Kuweit:** An Arab state on the north-western coast of the Persian Gulf, since 1899 under British protection. Its population consists mostly of seamen and it serves as one of

the principal ports of Arabia. It possesses a fine natural harbour and was to have been the terminus of the Berlin-Baghdad railway. Kuwait has almost always been an object of desire to its neighbours. It has been coveted in turn by Turkey and the Wahabis of Nejd, but the Treaty of Mohammerah of 1921 which laid down the boundaries between Kuwait and Nejd has brought general agreement between the two states, despite occasional later differences. Kuwait is a place of call for the Imperial Airway liners.

**Lapua Movement:** A bourgeois organization formed in Finland in 1930 for the suppression of communism (q.v.). Impatient of the apparent dilatoriness of the Government, the members of this organization opened their campaign with acts of violence which had some influence on the Government and Parliament and in fact led to their substitution by successors more to the Right by which the legislation the Lapuists demanded was granted. The Lapuists, however, continued on their course of violence and even threatened civil war. They thereby estranged the great body of public opinion. An approximation on the part of the movement to German Nazism still further reduced its influence and it did not long survive.

**Lateran Treaty:** A treaty between the Government of Italy and the Vatican, made in 1929, by which the hostility between the two Powers that had endured since 1870 when Italy annexed the States of the Church was brought to an end. By this treaty the Pope recovered political sovereignty, although on a very reduced scale (see Vatican City), and on his part recognized Rome as the capital of the kingdom of Italy. The Treaty was accompanied by a concordat which provided for the security of the rights of the Church, in matters of education, marriage, etc., in the kingdom of Italy.

**Latvia (Lettland):** One of the Baltic states, inhabited by Letts who fought against the Prussians but were ultimately suppressed and formed into two of the constituent republics, Livonia and Courland, of the Federal Republic of the Teutonic Order of Knights. From 1562 to 1795 Lettland was under Polish rule, except for the period 1629 to 1721

when Sweden ruled in Livonia. In 1795 the whole of Lettland passed to Russia and remained a part of the Russian Empire until 1918 when it gained its independence. Throughout this period, no matter with whom the temporal rule rested, German influence, first established in the time of the Teutonic Knights, reigned supreme and the upper classes, still German, if only of remote German origin, monopolized the cultural influence, provided many of the local administrators and influenced also the course of events at the centre of the Russian Empire. About 1860, however, a Lettish national movement began to arise. This was at first cultural, but, linking with the revolutionary movement in Russia proper, by 1905 it had become political also. On 18 November 1918, Latvia was, with the approval of the Powers, proclaimed an independent republic.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 Latvia had non-aggression pacts with both of her powerful neighbours, Russia and Germany. Russia proposed a one-sided guarantee of her neutrality. By this Latvia was not attracted, but in the end gave way and at the same time, in common with the other Baltic states, granted Russia naval and artillery bases and aerodromes on her territory. Later Latvia voted herself into the Russian Union of Soviet Republics as a constituent republic. Previous to the invasion of Russia by German armies in 1941 Germany had applied to Latvia, in common with the other neighbouring states, her policy of recalling men and women of German origin to their original country. In the case of most of the Latvian Germans neither they nor their ancestors for many centuries had lived in Germany, but this fact was given no consideration. By this measure some 62,000 people of German origin were forced to give up their homes. On the German invasion the whole of Latvia was overrun and, after a short interval, together with Estonia and Lithuania, incorporated in a new German state—Ostland.

The principal products of Latvia are oats, rye, barley, wheat, potatoes, flax and hemp, beet sugar, and wood pulp. Its population in 1939 was 1,951,000.

**Lausanne Agreement, The:** see Reparations.

**Lausanne, Treaty of:** A treaty of peace between Turkey and Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923, which superseded the abortive Treaty of Sèvres (q.v.) which had never been ratified. This Treaty to a large extent modified, in some instances cancelled, the more onerous terms of the earlier treaty. Turkey recovered full control over Constantinople (Istanbul) (q.v.), Thrace (q.v.) up to the River Maritza and the whole of Anatolia. The Dardanelles and Bosphorus were demilitarized and made subject to certain other limitations, but otherwise restored to Turkish control (see Montreux Convention). The frontier with Syria was redrawn to Turkey's advantage and the French and Italian spheres of influence in Asia Minor abolished. The question of Mosul (q.v.) was referred for later settlement.

**Lead:** The world smelter production of lead in 1938 was 1,620,000 tons. Of this total the U.S.A. furnished 25·1 per cent, Australia 13·7, Mexico 13·8, Canada 10·7, Germany and Austria 10·2, Belgium 5, and Burma 4·7 per cent.

**Lead Ore:** The world production of lead ore in 1938 was 1,783,000 tons, of which the U.S.A. supplied 24·8 per cent, Australia 14·7, Mexico 12·8, Canada 11, Burma 5·4, Germany 4·6, Yugoslavia 4·2, and Peru 2·6 per cent.

**League of Nations:** An international organization, created by the Treaty of Versailles and the other Peace Treaties that brought the war of 1914 to 1918 to an end. The constitution or Covenant of the League was incorporated in all of these treaties. The main purpose of the League was the preservation of international peace and, as a means to that end, the settlement of all international disputes either by arbitration or by conciliation. The original members of the League were named in the Covenant. Any 'fully self-governing state' was eligible for membership, but admissions were subject to approval by at least two-thirds of the Assembly of the League. Germany and her allies as well as Russia were excluded from the original list. The Government of the United States of America refused the invitation to become a member. The governing organizations of the League were the Assembly, which consisted of representatives of all the

member-states, and the Council, originally consisting of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, with a vacant seat kept for the U.S.A. but never filled, and of four other states to be chosen by the Assembly. Both sections of the Council were subsequently enlarged, Germany and Russia being added to the permanent members and the temporary members being increased in number to nine. Brazil was the first state to resign its membership (1926), being dissatisfied with the differentiation between permanent and temporary members. Other small states followed the example of Brazil at intervals. The first serious break was, however, caused by the withdrawal of Japan and Germany in 1933. They were followed by Italy a few years later. Russia was expelled from the League on her attack on Finland, a fellow member, in 1939. Italy, who had previously attacked a fellow-member, Abyssinia, had, however, been left undisturbed.

Both the Assembly and the Council had the right to consider and discuss any subject that came within the purview of the constitution of the League. The Assembly was in consequence of its size and the publicity of its meetings necessarily only a deliberate body. The Council had far greater opportunities of influencing events. Yet its power in that direction was small. Its effectiveness had, as a rule, been very much diminished by the necessity of compromising between its principal members. It was also accused of exercising a dictatorship of the ex-Allied Powers, but this, if it existed, lasted only a few years, while the spirit of the Alliance out of which the League was born was dissipating. As a rule, before any decision was taken, unanimity in the Assembly or Council was necessary. This requirement helped to deprive the League of real power.

Among the immediate tasks indicated in the Covenant of the League were the drastic reduction of national armaments and the rigid control of the manufacture of munitions and instruments of war by private undertakings. The members of the League undertook 'to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League'. On

the threat of war, the League should take immediate action to safeguard the peace. Article 19 of the Covenant laid down that 'The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world'. No action was, however, ever taken under this Article. The system of Mandates for the German colonies and certain non-Turkish territories, previously part of the Ottoman Empire, was also authorized in the Covenant (see Mandates System). The Permanent Court of International Justice (q.v.) and the International Labour Organization (q.v.) were constituted under the terms of the Covenant.

A number of minor international disputes were from time to time referred to the League and in most instances settled. With regard to the serious disputes it, however, found itself helpless. Its principal success was in the health and social work in which politics and international jealousies have as a rule no place. Here it was able to exercise some influence on the welfare of humanity. To the Russian, Greek, an Armenian refugees, it proved of much assistance, but when the flood of refugees from Central Europe commenced, it found itself capable of very little and even this little became very soon impossible. With the Constitution of the United Nations Organization (q.v.) at the San Francisco Conference (q.v.) the League of Nations may be said to have come to an end. It was formally terminated on 18 April 1946.

The seat of the League was at Geneva. See also Sanctions; Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

**League of Nations** (Optional Clause): see Permanent Court of International Justice.

**Lebanon, The:** The nucleus of the state of the Lebanese Republic was a *sanjaq* of the Ottoman Empire, clustering round the mountains of Lebanon in the west of Central Syria. When the Mandated State was constituted by the French, additions, notably the coast-line and ports from the Palestine frontier to beyond Tripoli and including Beyrout, were made to this nucleus. This made the size of the greater Lebanon

almost twice that of the former *sanjaq*. The genesis of this state was derived from the presence of two irreconcilable populations in this district—the Maronites, who are Christians, and the Druzes, a mysterious sect, to some extent akin to Moslems. In origin these two sects are closely related if not identical, but the separation between them is not primarily racial. It is religious and out of the different religious schools of thought have grown two distinct nationalities.

There was hostility for centuries between the Maronites and the Druzes, and France, as the Protector of the Christians of the Levant, always encouraged the Maronites in the quarrels. After one especially serious outbreak in 1860 in the suppression of which a French army participated, a special constitution was instituted in 1861. Under this the Lebanon was given a Christian governor and privileges for the Maronites. This led to a Druze exodus, and as a result the census of 1932 showed only 53,334 Druzes out of a total population of the Mandated state of the Lebanon of 793,396. Of the remainder of the population 333,135 were Moslems.

The Anglo-French proclamation of 7 November 1918 of 'administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations' presumably applied to the inhabitants of the Lebanon as well as those of the neighbouring lands.

At the first opportunity after the Mandate for Syria and Lebanon had been granted to France, the territory was divided into several states of which the Greater Lebanon was one. The obvious favour shown by France to the Lebanese, whom she had long considered her protégés, aroused the jealousy of the Arabs of Syria, mostly Moslems, who were especially angry at the attachment of Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and other Moslem districts to the Lebanese state. In fact it seemed that the French intended to act on the principle of Divide and Rule. The Greater Lebanon was declared an independent state and was given a constitution under which it enjoyed a President, nominated by the High Commissioner, a Council of Government, and a Legislative Chamber. This constitution was, however, to a large extent unreal, for all power rested in the hands of the French High



Commissioner. Moreover, until 1925, this was reinforced by the existence of martial law.

The Lebanon had no share in the successive Syrian revolts, which led ultimately to the promise of independence to Syria. Simultaneously, however, a treaty was negotiated between France and the Lebanon whereby that State also was to be relieved of French tutelage by the end of the year 1939 and real independence granted to it. This promise raised some doubts among the Moslem elements in the population who were hesitant about entrusting their lives and liberties to a non-Moslem government, and far stronger opposition in political circles in France, which were determined to oppose with intensity any policy of M. Blum's Popular Front Government, no matter to what it might relate. M. Blum's Government fell on another question, and the French Chamber never ratified the Treaty with the Lebanon. In the meanwhile war broke out. The legal position of the Greater Lebanon remained unaffected, except that the Council of Government and Legislative Chamber were dismissed and the country was governed by the President, acting under the direction of the High Commissioner.

The facilities provided by the Vichy French authorities to the German Air Force in Syria and the Lebanon led to intervention by British armed forces in June 1941. The campaign ended after five weeks, on 11 July, with the capitulation of the French, and the British and the 'Free French' shortly afterwards announced that their policy was to grant sovereign independence to the Lebanon as soon as it was possible to do so.

On 26 November 1941 the Greater Lebanon was proclaimed by General Catroux, the representative of the 'Free French', an independent sovereign state with power to appoint its own diplomatic representatives and to form its own military forces, facilities, however, being granted to the French at any rate so long as the war continued. Early in 1943 the suppressed constitution was formally restored and preparations made for parliamentary elections free of French interference. A President of the Republic was elected by Parliament and a cabinet, representative of all communities,

appointed. Conversations with the French Delegate General, M. Helleu, were then initiated with a view to bringing into effect the full independence and sovereignty of the Republic. Differences, however, arose. The French demanded a treaty of alliance as a first step: the Lebanese preferred to secure unqualified independence first. The Lebanese Government and people were unanimous in the decision so to amend the constitution as to secure absolute independence for the Republic. Parliament proceeded along these lines. M. Helleu promptly ordered the arrest of the President and members of the Government, dissolved parliament and appointed his own nominee as ruler of the republic under French direction.

Rioting at once broke out throughout the country. The British minister protested most strongly against the French action. There were signs of widespread armed resistance to the action of the French. The rulers of the neighbouring Arab states came out outspokenly on the side of their Lebanese kinsmen. The pressure of the British authorities was intensified. As a consequence the President of the Lebanese Republic was released and reinstated and the members of the Cabinet released, but not reinstated. They, however, took up their duties without hindrance and the dissolved parliament was summoned without any objecting action on the part of the French.

M. Helleu had in the meanwhile been recalled and General Catroux had temporarily taken his place. By him the tension was relaxed. Events compelled the French to realize that they must give way. At a conference between General Catroux and Lebanese and Syrian representatives agreement was reached for the institution of independent Lebanese and Syrian republics as from 1 January 1944, subject only to the presence on their territory until the conclusion of hostilities of British and French armies. These have since been withdrawn.

See also Syria.

**Lend-Lease Act:** A measure whereby the Government of the United States in March 1941, before it had entered the war, undertook to provide the Powers at war with Germany and Italy with munitions and other necessities, not against payment in cash, immediate or prospective, but as a loan to

be liquidated on some future undefined date by 'payment or repayment in kind or property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory'. The 'loan' consists of services as well as goods. The principal beneficiary of this Act is Britain, but its benefits were extended also at intervals to China, Russia, Turkey, and a number of the smaller Allied states. By an agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America signed on 23 February 1942 (this became the standard for all similar agreements), the guaranteed assistance was mutual. That is to say services given to the American Government similarly involved no financial payment or liability. The first six articles of this agreement may be summed up as follows:

The United States Government will continue to supply the United Kingdom with defence aid in the shape of materials, services, and information, and the British Government will render the same service to the United States. Possession of or title to 'defence articles' and information shall not be transferred by the British Government to any non-official person without American consent. The patent rights of United States subjects that may be affected by the transfer of materials or information to the British Government are protected. Defence articles that survive the wear and tear of war shall be returned to the United States if they are determined by the President as 'useful to the defence of the United States or of the western hemisphere' or otherwise. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States by the United Kingdom, full cognizance shall be taken of all benefits or considerations provided by the British Government after the Act of Congress of 11 March 1941, which made the Lend-Lease Bill law.

Article 7 of the master agreement lays down that the benefits to be provided to the United States by the British Government in return for American aid 'shall not be such as to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end they shall include provision for agreed action by

the United States . . . and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion . . . of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods . . . to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers . . . ' and in general to the attainment of the economic objectives set forth in the Atlantic Charter (q.v.). The principle of the Lend-Lease Agreement became in the end one of mutual aid by which all the parties to it sought to contribute all they could to the common purpose, indifferent to which side of the account on which the balance might lie.

The Lend-Lease arrangements were suddenly ended on the 21 August 1945 by the United States Government. During the period of their effectiveness more than 40 thousand million dollars worth of goods, etc., were supplied by the United States, Great Britain being the principal beneficiary and Russia the second. 'Reverse Lend-Lease', from which the United States benefited, was also appreciable, the principal contributors being the several states of the British Commonwealth. Up to 30 June 1945 the contributions of the United Kingdom to the United States under this head amounted to £1,080,300,000.

**Leninism:** A term used as an alternative for Communism (q.v.) as applied as a practical policy in Russia, under the direction of Vladimir Lenin.

**Leticia Dispute:** The frontier between Colombia and Peru was settled by the Treaty of Lima of 24 March 1922. On the night of 1 September 1932 an armed party coming from Peru seized the river port of Leticia in Colombia. Colombia appealed to the League of Nations. Peru, however, refused to withdraw its forces as the League requested. The murder of the Dictator of Peru, however, changed the attitude of that country. A temporary League administration of the district was accepted by both sides and, in the end, on 24 May 1934, Colombia and Peru signed an agreement of peace, friendship, and collaboration. By this instrument the Treaty of 1922 was reaffirmed and provision made for the demilitarization of the frontier region. In the event of

any future similar dispute the two Powers undertook to refer it to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

**Lettland:** see Latvia.

**Levant States:** See Lebanon, The; Syria.

**Libya:** Large region in North Africa, stretching from Tunisia on the west, to Egypt on the east, and south into the Sahara. Until 1912 it was part of the Ottoman Empire, but in that year it was annexed under the Treaty of Ouchy by Italy who had invaded the region in the previous year. After the conclusion of the European War of 1914 to 1918, its frontiers on the south and the east were extended by the cession of small pieces of territory by France and Britain, the latter acting for Egypt. Italy has been only for short periods in effective occupation of the whole of Libya. Geographically the country falls into two parts, separated by a desert—Tripolitania on the west, Cyrenaica on the east. The greater part of Libya consists of desert. Two-thirds of the population is Arab, the remainder negro. Of a total extent of 679,358 square miles, it has been estimated that not more than 17,000 are cultivable. The only industries of any importance are sponge fishing, tunny fishing, tobacco and tobacco manufactures.

The disposal of Libya at the conclusion of the war aroused considerable controversy. The Americans favoured a collective trusteeship under the United Nations. France, at first asking for herself at the least Tripolitania but finding no support, argued for the restoration of the whole of Libya to Italy. The British, mindful of their pledge to the Senussi (q.v.) favoured a British trusteeship over that region. The Russians claimed a trusteeship over Tripolitania. Egypt objected to all non-Moslem or non-Arab (in the widest sense) intervention and advocated, after a frontier adjustment in favour of Egypt, either independence or a trusteeship reposed in the Arab League (q.v.). In Cyrenaica, the Senussi (q.v.), a religious-political sect of strict Moslems is powerful. The population suffered severely at the hands of the Italians, but they object also to Egyptian rule. The British Government, in January 1942, pledged itself that Cyrenaica would never return to Italian rule. Any possible form of

self-government must centre round the head of the Senussi sect. In Tripolitania, however, there is no similar centre of government. There are, moreover, European colonies there. It is the more prosperous half of Libya. France would not be welcomed by the population. In the end a decision was postponed until July 1947.

**Liechtenstein:** A small German principality (65 square miles; population (1930) 10,213), lying between the Austrian province of Vorarlberg and Switzerland, constituted an independent state, a constituent of the Empire, in 1719. It seceded from the Empire in 1806 and joined the French controlled Confederation of the Rhine. With the dissolution of the German Confederation in 1866 Liechtenstein secured its independence. The constitution is that of a limited monarchy. In matters of currency Liechtenstein is linked with Switzerland. It is included in the Swiss Customs Union and its posts and telegraphs are administered by Switzerland.

**Lignite and Brown Coal:** The world production of lignite and brown coal in 1938 was 240,500,000 tons, of which 80 per cent was produced in Germany, 7·8 per cent in Czechoslovakia, and 3·5 per cent in Hungary. Lignite and brown coal serve the same purposes as coal, but are inferior to it in quality.

**Lima, Declaration of:** see Pan-American Union.

**Lithuania:** One of the Baltic states. It became a Grand Duchy early in the thirteenth century. In 1386 the Grand Duke married the Queen of Poland and thus became King of Poland also. Henceforth the power and prosperity of Lithuania increased until its frontiers extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Later, Polish influence gained an ascendancy and in 1569 Lithuania was forced to unite with Poland to form one state, with, however, considerable autonomy for Lithuania. At the end of the eighteenth century Lithuania passed under Russian rule and remained there until 1918 when an independent Lithuanian state was proclaimed. In July 1920 Russia recognized that independence and in December 1922 the other Great Powers took a similar step. In the meanwhile, however, the Poles had

seized the Vilna district in which the capital and most important town was situated. The Great Powers had previously allotted Vilna (q.v.) to Lithuania, but after the Polish occupation they recognized the *fait accompli*. This decision the Lithuanians refused to accept and as a consequence all relations between Poland and Lithuania were suspended for nineteen years. Lithuania on its part imitated Poland and seized Memel (q.v.) which had been given a special régime. Normal relations between Poland and Lithuania were restored in 1938 under compulsion from Poland who went so far as to issue an ultimatum.

After the outbreak of war in 1939—Germany had in the meanwhile recovered Memel under threat of force—Lithuania was compelled by Russia to accept a treaty of mutual assistance by which Russia was enabled to establish naval bases and station troops on Lithuanian territory. Vilna, which Russia had taken from Poland, was, however, restored to Lithuania. At the same time Germany, who was on friendly terms with Russia, agreed to repatriate to Germany the large number of Lithuanians of German origin, on the partition of Poland. The end—for the time-being at any rate—came in May of the following year. An ultimatum was issued by Russia on some trumped-up excuse, the Government was dismissed, the Communists gained control, and on 21 July a packed parliament voted for incorporation in the Russian Union of Soviet Republics.

The principal exports of Lithuania are meat, butter, flax, pigs, and eggs. Great Britain stands first in respect of both imports and exports. The population of Lithuania in 1939 was about 2,442,000.

**Little Entente, The:** An agreement between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, all three of which states had profited greatly in territory from the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, with the encouragement and support of France, to preserve the *status quo* in Central Europe created by the Peace Treaties and in particular those of St. Germain (q.v.) and the Trianon (q.v.). The Little Entente grew out of treaties between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (14.8.1920), Czechoslovakia and Rumania

(23.4.1921), and Rumania and Yugoslavia (7.6.1921). These three treaties were consolidated in a treaty between the three Powers signed in Belgrade on 21 May 1929. In 1933, the close collaboration between these states was carried a step farther by the Pact of Organization which was signed on 16 February. This instrument transformed the Entente into a unified international organization which would eventually be open to other states. An economic union was also intended. The creation of the Balkan League, of which two of the Little Entente Powers were members, in 1934, interlocked the two groups.

The seizure of Czechoslovakia by Germany in 1939 meant the end of the Little Entente in which the Government of Czechoslovakia had always been the leading influence. It lingered on for a short time as an alliance between Rumania and Yugoslavia, but when the former state passed within the German orbit the Entente was obviously completely at an end.

**Locarno Pact:** Agreements signed at Locarno on 1 December 1925, by which Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, guaranteed the peace of Western Europe, and Germany, which was not then a member of the League of Nations, undertook to submit to arbitration disputes with France, Belgium, Poland, or Czechoslovakia. This was perhaps the first international occasion of any consequence since the recent war in which the Powers were not grouped as Allied and Enemy. It was also the first occasion on which any of the Great Powers surrendered the right to make war. Very great hopes for the future of international relations were raised by the signature of this pact. Incidentally all the five Western Powers included in the Pact were guaranteed the armed support of the others in the event of an attack on one of them. Other documents signed at the same time were arbitration conventions between Germany on the one side and France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia on the other, and treaties of guarantee by France of the independence and security of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Pact was followed at an interval by the admission of Germany to membership of the League of Nations and the evacuation by the French of the Rhineland



(q.v.) in advance of the date appointed in the Treaty of Versailles. As the international situation grew worse as years passed, the binding force of the Locarno Pact weakened. In March 1936 Germany suddenly denounced the Pact and, contrary to treaty, sent strong forces into the Rhineland. Belgium, frightened at the prospect of being involved in war, withdrew from her obligations under it in the following year. The Pact was then at an end.

**London Naval Conference:** see Naval Disarmament.

**London Naval Treaty:** see Naval Disarmament.

**London, Pact of (1915):** A treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia on the one side and Italy on the other, signed in London on 26 April 1915, but not published until the end of April 1920, whereby, in return for Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Allies, the other parties agreed that on the successful conclusion of the war Italy should receive of Austrian territory the Trentino, the Austrian Tyrol as far north as the Brenner Pass, Trieste, Gorizia, Gradisca, and the greater part of Istria and Dalmatia and their islands. The remainder of Istria, including Fiume, and Dalmatia, were to go to Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia, afterwards to be combined in Yugoslavia. This division did not entirely satisfy Yugoslavia, since practically the whole of Dalmatia is inhabited by Slavs, and the U.S.A., which was not a party to the Treaty, refused to be bound by it. In the end almost the whole of Dalmatia went to Yugoslavia, but Italy acquired the whole of Istria, and later Fiume (q.v.) also. Under the Treaty, Italy was moreover to receive the Albanian port of Valona, Rhodes (q.v.) and the Dodecanese (q.v.) and a share of Asia Minor. If an independent Albania (q.v.) were restored it was to be under Italian influence.

**Luxemburg:** A German-speaking grand duchy situated between Germany, France, and Belgium. Luxemburg has been a more or less independent state since the tenth century. It passed to the Empire by marriage, but in 1795 was ceded to France. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars Luxemburg became a grand duchy and was attached to the kingdom of the Netherlands. From 1831 to 1838 it was attached to

Belgium whose people had seceded from the kingdom of Holland. In the latter year the duchy was divided by the Great Powers, a part being incorporated in Belgium and the remainder placed under the King of Holland. On the death of King William III in 1890, he was succeeded by his daughter as Queen of Holland, but as the Salic Law applied in Luxemburg and no woman could reign there, a kinsman became Grand Duke of Luxemburg. Later the law was altered and a grand duchess in due course ascended the throne. In 1872 the Prussian garrison which had occupied the capital since 1815 was withdrawn and the fortifications razed. At the same time the Great Powers guaranteed the neutrality of the duchy.

In 1914, on the outbreak of war between Germany and France, Luxemburg was overrun by the Germans, the Grand Duchess remaining in her capital. In 1919 a plebiscite was held whereby the people showed their desire to continue as an independent state under their Grand Duchess—her predecessor had resigned—and to enter into an economic union with France. France, however, refused the union in favour of Belgium and this was accepted. The economic union with Belgium, which came into force on 1 May 1922, provided for one currency (the Belgian) in both countries and the removal of all customs barriers between them. On 10 May 1940 Germany again invaded Luxemburg, without warning, and soon occupied the whole country. The Grand Duchess and her family, however, escaped and ultimately took refuge in Canada. Simultaneously the Germans incorporated in effect the country in the German Reich.

Luxemburg is an important centre of iron and steel production. Otherwise the occupation of its people is mainly agricultural. Its population in 1939 numbered about 301,000.

**Macao:** a Portuguese colony, a small island off the Canton River in China, close to the British colony of Hong Kong. It has been in Portuguese possession since 1557, but Portuguese sovereignty was not recognized by China until 1887 when a treaty was made by the two powers. Until 1849 Portugal paid China a rent of £71 per annum for the territory. On two occasions during the Napoleonic wars, Macao

was occupied by British forces as a precaution against seizure by the French.

**Macedonia:** A region in the Balkans, partitioned between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece, formerly Turkish, and over a long period a cause of unrest and contention between the Governments of these states. The population is mixed and includes elements akin to those of all of the states of south-eastern Europe. Before 1912 it was overwhelmingly Slav, except in a narrow coastal strip. Under the abortive Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878), the whole of Macedonia, excepting Salonica, was to have gone to the newly constituted state of Bulgaria. By the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878), it was left to Turkey with provision for the reform of the administration. The people of Macedonia were, however, dissatisfied with this decision. Unrest and violence arose among them and have continued in effect to the present day. There had been secret revolutionary societies in Macedonia previous to 1895, but in that year the Macedonian Committee (Supreme Macedo-Adrianopolitan Committee) was formed in Bulgaria. The immediate consequence was a revolt, which proved unsuccessful, against the Turks, in Northern Macedonia. At the same time the 'Internal Organization', an unofficial administration with as much if not greater power than that of the Government, arose in Macedonia. These movements were mainly Bulgar or pro-Bulgar. In part to counteract them, to preserve the Macedonian inheritance for Greece, Greek revolutionaries were active in Southern Macedonia. Of the contending parties the Bulgarian revolutionaries were, on the whole, the most successful. After a further insurrection in 1903 and a savage repression by the Turks, Austria and Russia intervened and the Turkish Government was compelled to adopt the Mürsteg Programme of reforms. These proved a failure. The six Great Powers (The Concert of Europe) then again intervened and went so far as to threaten Turkey with a combined fleet. Another project, an Anglo-Russian one, was the Reval Programme (1908), but this was rendered abortive by the Young Turk Revolution which was at first full of promise for the Macedonians as well as for all the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire.

Four years after the Young Turk Revolution, war broke out between Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro on the one side and Turkey on the other. Macedonia was one of the principal prizes for which the contestants fought, but before the war ended the three allies turned against Bulgaria and but a small part of Macedonia therefore went to that state, Greece benefiting at her expense. At the same time a new state, Albania (q.v.), was created. The result of the war was to exclude Turkey from Macedonia which, however, still found no peace, for it became a bone of contention among Turkey's heirs. The lot of Macedonia under Serbia (Yugoslavia) and Greece has been little better than it was under Turkey. One result of the distribution of territory of 1913 was the alliance of Bulgaria with Germany and Austria in the World War, with the object of recovering Macedonia to which she believed herself entitled. The result of the war, so far as Bulgaria was concerned, was, however, the loss of further territory. But she still nursed her grievance.

By the Yugoslavs, the Macedonian Bulgars were severely repressed. One consequence was the revival of the old 'Internal Organization', when all constitutional methods of redress had proved fruitless. This organization was entirely out of the control of the Bulgarian Government whose wishes as a rule found little respect with it. But it had the sympathy of the Bulgarian people. The Internal Organization became a revolutionary committee which was responsible for many outrages and kept Macedonia in a state of disorder for twenty years. The Committee also split into two parts, leaders on each side being murdered in retaliation for one another. In the end, in 1934, both Committees were suppressed by the Bulgarian Government.

The division of Macedonia between Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, and the influx of some 600,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor into Greek Macedonia, effected great changes in the racial distribution. By 1938 the populations of the three parts of Macedonia were estimated to have been Greek 1,525,000, Bulgarian 220,000, Yugoslav 1,050,000. In Greek Macedonia 80 per cent of the population were Greeks; the Slavs were confined to the mountainous territory west

of Salonica, where Albanians and Vlachs also formed minorities. Bulgarian Macedonia had become entirely Slav. In Yugoslav Macedonia also the Greeks had disappeared, and the Turks and Vlachs been reduced in number. A considerable Albanian minority, however, remained along the western edge. These Slavs, however, did not regard themselves as Serbs. For fifteen years after 1919 there was a continuing guerrilla resistance to Serbian government, and at the same time internecine warfare between the supporters of annexation to Bulgaria and those of Macedonian independence. By 1938, however, while there were still Serbian and Bulgar partisans, the great majority of the Macedonian Slavs shared with their Turkish and Vlach neighbours the desire for Macedonian autonomy within either a Yugoslav or a larger Balkan Federation. The Bulgarian claim to a further share of Macedonia appeared to have been abandoned, but the temptation held out by the German successes was too strong, and in 1941 Bulgaria occupied virtually all of Yugoslav Macedonia, except the north-western districts which went to an Italian-dominated Albania.

The policy of the Yugoslav Government under Marshal Tito is a federal state of which Macedonia would be a constituent. Such a settlement had simultaneously been adopted by the Government that was in control of Bulgaria when she submitted to the Allied Powers.

**Madagascar:** A large island off the south-east coast of Africa. Until 1885 the island was an independent Kingdom under a Malagasy queen. The foreign power chiefly interested was France, with which there were occasional disputes. In 1883, arising out of one of these, French forces bombarded Tamatave, and when peace was restored Madagascar became virtually a protectorate of France. This protectorate was recognized by Britain in 1890 in return for concessions in Zanzibar. Four years later the French, still dissatisfied, sent an ultimatum to the Queen of Madagascar. The further control demanded was, however, refused. A French army was landed, the ports bombarded, and on the fall of the capital, Antananarivo, on 30 September 1895, the Queen capitulated. There was a rebellion in 1896 but henceforth

Madagascar remained a French colony. After the outbreak of war between Britain and Japan in December 1941 and with the increasing subservience of France to Germany and her allies, a fear arose that France would give Japan naval and air facilities in Madagascar and thereby threaten South Africa and also British communications in the Indian Ocean. To frustrate this, Britain landed troops in Madagascar and after a little fighting took possession of the valuable sea-base at Diego Suarez.

**Madeira:** The principal of two Portuguese islands, the Madeiras, lying off the north-west coast of Africa. The capital city is Funchal. The area of the islands is 814 square miles and the population in 1940 was 249,000. Madeira is an integral part of the Portuguese Republic: its population is Portuguese in race. The islands were discovered or rediscovered in 1420 and have since been continuously under Portuguese control, except for two periods of British occupation—a few months in 1801 and from 1807 to 1814. Madeira is a health resort, otherwise agriculture is the only occupation.

**Mahasabha:** see India.

**Malaya, British:** British Malaya consists of the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements (Singapore with Cocos and Christmas Islands; Penang, with Province Wellesley; Malacca, and Labuan); the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang), which are under British protection; and the Unfederated Malay States (Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu), which are also under British protection, but not so closely under British control as the Federated States. Malacca has been a British possession since 1795, except for the period 1818 to 1824, when it reverted to the Dutch. Penang was the first British settlement in the Peninsula. It dates from 1786 and Province Wellesley from 1800. Singapore was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 and the whole island was ceded in 1824. Labuan was ceded in 1846. The four federated states all applied for British protection between the years 1874 and 1895 and in the latter year formed a federation. Johore placed itself under British protection in 1885 and the

other four unfederated states were transferred from Thailand (Siam) to Britain in 1909. The Cocos or Keeling Islands are 1,161 miles distant from Singapore in the Indian Ocean and Christmas Island is 529 miles from Cocos Island. Two-thirds of the population of the Straits Settlements (1,890,000 in 1939) are Chinese and less than a third Malay. The third largest element consists of Indians (150,000). The population of the Federated Malay States was estimated at the same time at 2,147,000, of whom almost half were Chinese, a third Malay, and about a quarter Indian. The population of the Unfederated States numbered 1,852,000. There the Malays predominated, being more than double the number of the Chinese. Of the Chinese population only 31 per cent and of the Indian only 21 per cent was born locally and very many of both races acknowledge an allegiance outside.

In October 1945 the British Government announced a constitutional reform of the government of the territories of British Malaya, involving their union under one government. The Settlement of Singapore was to be constituted a separate colony. There would also be created a Malayan Union citizenship, for which the qualifications would be birth in Malaya or a suitable period of residence. There was considerable local opposition which was met by amendments of the plan, the principal of which was the substitution of a Federation for the proposed Union and the reconsideration of the conditions for Malayan citizenship.

British Malaya is very rich in mineral and agricultural products. Its main exports are rubber, tin, petrol, copra, rice, and fruits. Singapore, the capital of the Straits Settlements, is a very important naval station guarding the route between India and the Far East and Australia.

**Malta:** A fortified island in the narrowest part of the Mediterranean midway between Sicily and Tunis, thus controlling the passage between the east and the west. Malta has never been a part of an Italian state nor is its population Italian. The people are akin to the ancient Carthaginians and their language belongs to the Semitic family. Only the small upper class speaks Italian and then as one of two or three languages. Malta is a very important British naval

port and local employment is to a very large extent dependent on the British navy.

Until the Napoleonic period, the island was the headquarters of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem or of Malta and was ruled by their Grand Master. It was seized by Napoleon and taken from him by the British, and at the settlement after the defeat of Napoleon in 1814 (Treaty of Paris) the island was, in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants, annexed by Britain. During the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, there was a growing agitation, inspired from Italy, for the incorporation of the island in the kingdom of Italy on the ground that its population was Italian. As a consequence the constitution under which the population had a large share in the local administration had to be suspended. The Italian language also, which held a privileged position under the constitution, suffered in the end a considerable diminution of its privileges.

**Manchukuo:** A state created by Japan out of the district previously known as Manchuria and carved out of the territories of the Chinese Republic. It was formed out of the Chinese provinces of Fengtien, Kirin, Heilungkiang, and Jehol. The Mongol province of Hsingan was added later. The state of Manchukuo was proclaimed by the Japanese on 18 February 1932. The other powers at first refused recognition of it, but by March 1939 such recognition had been granted by the Vatican, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and San Salvador. Rumania recognized Manchukuo later. A *modus vivendi* was, moreover, early established with the Union of Soviet Republics. At the Cairo Conference of 1943 it was agreed that on the defeat of Japan Manchukuo should be restored to the Chinese Republic. In the last days of the war Manchuria was overrun by the Soviet armies and although Russia undertook to evacuate the country it delayed long in doing so. As the armies withdrew they dismantled all factories and took their machinery and other contents with them. The Government of Manchukuo was in the form of an empire, the deposed Emperor of China having been appointed Emperor of Manchukuo by the



Japanese. The principal exports of Manchukuo are soya beans, bean cakes, coal, and bean oil. See also Russo-Japanese Pact.

**Manchuria:** see Manchukuo.

**Mandate System:** A system set up by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles and other treaties, for the administration of the German colonies and the non-Turkish provinces of the Ottoman Empire. (These territories were ceded to the Allied Powers who shared them among themselves, not, however, in full sovereignty but under mandate from the League of Nations.) Annual reports on the administration of these territories were to be made by the Mandatory Powers to the Council of the League which devolved the preliminary and detailed consideration to its Permanent Mandates Commission. The Mandated states fell into three classes. Class A comprised Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan, whose independence was provisionally recognized until they were able to stand alone, of these only Palestine remained under mandate in 1946. Togoland, the Cameroons, Tanganyika, and Ruanda fell into Class B. In respect of these, the Mandatory Power was responsible for the administration and undertook to promote the welfare of the people. No provision was made for the termination of these mandates. (Class C consisted of South-West Africa, German Samoa, New Guinea, and a number of islands in the Western Pacific. In these instances (the prospect of self-government was even more remote. They 'can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territories, subject to the safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population'.)

See also under separate headings; San Francisco Conference; Trusteeship Council.

**Manganese:** The world output of manganese in 1937 was 3,020,000 tons. Of this total 40.4 per cent was mined in the U.S.S.R., 18 per cent in India, 9.4 per cent on the Gold Coast, 9.1 per cent in the Union of South Africa, and 7 per cent in Germany.

**Marshall Islands, The:** These islands consist of a group of twenty-four coral atolls in the Western Pacific, north of

Fiji and directly east of the southern Philippines. The total area is about 160 square miles and the population in 1939 was about 10,000, of whom less than 450 were Japanese and only ten others foreigners. Administered by Japan under a mandate of the League of Nations, visits by other foreigners were discouraged, on account, it was understood, of the Japanese policy of fortifying the islands. They were first visited by Europeans about 1529. Later, British seamen explored them, but they were annexed by Germany in 1885 and 1886. At the conclusion of the World War of 1914 Germany was forced to surrender the islands and they were allotted to Japan under mandate. The products and exports are inconsiderable. The principal export is copra. The islands provide excellent anchorages and there is a serviceable airfield in Roi.

**Martinique:** see French Colonies in America.

**Marxism:** Socialism (q.v.) as defined by Karl Marx. The essence of its doctrine is the class struggle. Marxism is generally understood to be based on the materialist conception of history.

**Memel:** The only port of Lithuania, formerly Prussian, occupying the most north-easterly corner of that Kingdom on the Baltic. It was detached from Germany under the Treaty of Versailles and placed under the control of the League of Nations, the administration being entrusted to the French. On 10 January 1923, however, the recently constituted state of Lithuania, on whose edge the city lay, took the city by force, although the resistance was merely formal, and in the following month the Powers, as a temporary measure, recognized Lithuanian sovereignty over the district. A year later (14 March 1924) this sovereignty was made permanent, but at the same time the Memel Statute, whereby a considerable degree of autonomy was granted, was also adopted. At the elections of a legislative body that followed, twenty-seven of the twenty-nine successful candidates were Germans.

Neither Germany nor Lithuania was satisfied with this settlement. Germany, basing its claim on the great preponderance of Germans in the population, consistently demanded the restoration to Germany of the district. Lithuania, considering the town indispensable as the only port of the state, was always anxious for a closer control over

it, and strove towards this end. In 1926 the Lithuanian Government suspended the constitution by the proclamation of martial law and in July 1930 the constitution was modified so as to meet to some extent Lithuanian views. Further disputes, following high-handed action by the Lithuanians, broke out in 1932, and with the rise of National Socialism in Germany the situation became still more difficult. After the seizure of Austria by Germany in 1938 the movement for the reincorporation of Memel in the German Reich gained in intensity and the members of the legislative body, always in a great German majority, on this occasion proclaimed themselves openly as German National Socialists. In March 1939, six months before the outbreak of war, Germany turned on Lithuania and forced it to cede Memel without delay. The League of Nations and the other Powers looked on helplessly.

**Mexico Petroleum:** The greater part of the rich petroleum wells of Mexico were owned by American and British companies. The Government of President Calles decided that a closer control of and greater benefit from this source of wealth was desirable and in March 1926 a law was enacted to the effect that all of the concessions would be reviewed. The United States Government protested very strongly against this enactment. It was agreed that the subsoil in which the reservoirs of petroleum were were the property of the nation, but the United States Government argued that this did not apply to wells that had been sunk previous to 1 May 1917, when the constitution enacting this provision came into force. A long controversy with the United States Government ensued. By 1928, however, the situation had eased and at the end of that year new concessions that granted the companies a considerable respite were made. In 1937 a new development took place. Socialism had in the meanwhile spread in Mexico and in May of that year a strike of employees against the foreign petroleum companies paralysed the industry. Concessions were made, but the movement for the nationalization of the wells, which had been developing, received a considerable impetus. The Government was anxious to get rid of foreign control of the industry and saw in this a means of doing so. The advance to this end was

made by indirect means. Legislation rendering the economic exploitation of the oil very difficult, if not impossible, was enacted. When the companies failed to meet their obligations, the Mexican Government, in March 1938, decreed the confiscation of their property which was taken over by the National Petroleum Administration. In 1939 a further step was taken by the prohibition of all petroleum concessions to private undertakings. The compensation offered to the companies for their property which had been expropriated had, in the meanwhile, been rejected as derisory. The companies demanded the return of their properties and were supported by their Governments. Finally, in 1941, when relations with the U.S.A. and Great Britain had improved, an agreement was reached. The several Governments interested were associated in estimating the amount of compensation due to their nationals and these sums the Mexican Government undertook to pay.

**Middle East Pact:** see Saadabad Pact.

**Minorities, National:** These may be racial, religious, or linguistic. In all cases they are sections of the population of a state that differ from the majority in one of these respects and for the safeguarding of whose differences special provision is considered necessary. There are such minorities—for example the Jews—in all countries, but the need for safeguarding them in the Western countries has never arisen until very recent years. On the other hand, in eastern and south-eastern Europe and in parts of Asia, minorities have always been liable to persecution and there has been provision in a number of international treaties for their welfare. Since the rise of Fascism, and in particular, National Socialism, minorities of a different character have become prominent in Europe and also in America. These do not themselves need protection, but the states of which they form part need protection from them. The aggressiveness of the German minority in Czechoslovakia led ultimately to the destruction of that state. In Spanish America the compact German and Italian minorities who put their allegiance to Berlin or Rome above that which they owe to their own governments have become a menace to the integrity of their own states.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878), in creating the new sovereign independent states of south-eastern Europe, laid down conditions for the fair treatment of Minorities. These conditions were in general observed by Servia and Bulgaria, but were from the first treated with contempt by Rumania. In the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and the other treaties that closed the war of 1914 to 1918, provision was made for safeguarding the interests of the Minorities in the new states created by those treaties and also in the states of south-eastern Europe whose territory was materially enlarged. In many of these states the undertakings given in the treaties were loyally carried out. But there were exceptions. Poland and Rumania were the worst offenders. Hungary also dealt with its only surviving Minority, the Jews, with a heavy hand. So far as Germany and Italy were concerned there were no legal obligations to treat their Minorities with humanity. It was thought that they would do so of their own accord. In practice, after an interval, their cruelty exceeded that of even the worst of the smaller powers. Poland, as soon as she felt herself strong enough, formally denounced her obligations. The Jews of Turkey voluntarily renounced their rights as a Minority. They preferred to be Turkish citizens of the Jewish race or religion rather than to be a religious or racial minority in Turkey. Rumania persistently avoided her obligations.

**Molybdenum:** Molybdenum is used chiefly in ferrous metallurgy and to a small extent in the chemical and electrical industries. It is one of the most valuable of steel alloy metals and a substitute for tungsten. It has been known since 1782, but its employment in industry on a large scale only dates back to 1914. Then Germany, cut off from all oversea supplies of steel alloying elements, used the small Norwegian molybdenum supplies as a substitute for tungsten. The result of that German research helped to lay the foundation for the subsequent intensive employment of the metal in the steel industry. Another reason for the rise of molybdenum in the past quarter of a century was the discovery, in 1916, of the Climax molybdenum mine in Colorado, which for the first time guaranteed a regular and large supply

of this product. Molybdenum greatly helped the United Nations to overcome the difficulties created through the loss of the large tungsten supplies from China. In war-time molybdenum is extensively used in alloys for vital parts in aeroplanes, tanks, warships, heavy guns, and machine-tools for the armament industry.

In the inter-war period extensive research work secured the product wide outlets in civilian industries. Almost the whole supply (15,575 tons out of a total of 16,700 in 1940) comes from the United States of America; Mexico and Norway supply the remainder, with a small exception. The other producing countries are French Morocco, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia and China. Recently Canada has come forward as a possible producer of molybdenum.

**Monetary Fund, International:** see Clearing Unions, International.

**Mongolia:** A large territory spreading westward from Manchukuo and China and south of Siberia, formerly an integral part of the Chinese Empire, now, in regard to Inner Mongolia under Japanese influence and to Outer Mongolia under Russian. Mongolia covers about 1,875,000 square miles, which include the greater part of the Desert of Gobi. On the constitution of the Republic of China in 1911, Inner Mongolia, previously little more than a dependency of China, was brought into closer relations with it. In fact it was broken up into three Chinese administrative provinces—Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan. After the detachment of Jehol and parts of Chahar by the Japanese and the inclusion of them in Manchukuo, the remainder of Inner Mongolia was constituted a state by the Japanese on 22 November 1937. Its population is said to exceed two millions, two-thirds of whom are Chinese and the remainder Mongols.

Outer Mongolia was constituted a Soviet Republic in 1924, a close alliance with the Union of Soviet Republics being entered into at the same time. Thirteen years earlier, on the fall of the Manchu Dynasty in China, the independence of Outer Mongolia had been proclaimed. The population of Outer Mongolia is a little more than half a million, of whom five-sixths are Mongols and most of the remainder Russians.

There are gold and other mineral deposits in the country, but the principal exports are wool, skins, and furs, sent for the most part to Russia.

See also Russo-Japanese Pact.

**Monroe Doctrine:** Doctrine enshrined in a message sent to the United States Congress on 2 December 1823 by President James Monroe, to the effect that the American territories should form a preserve for the American Governments and that no other Power should be permitted to acquire a controlling interest anywhere on the continent. The statement grew out of an apprehension that the European Holy Alliance sought to interfere in South America and restore the Spanish rule which had only recently been brought to an end. At the same time any interference with existing European Colonies in the Western Hemisphere was disclaimed. Britain at once expressed its agreement with this policy. The Doctrine, being merely a pronouncement by one Power, has never been incorporated in international law. It has been always observed, although the attempt to set up in Mexico an Emperor, a member of the Imperial Royal house, and his support by French troops in 1861 at one time jeopardized it. It has also been quoted by United States Governments in correspondence with European Powers when the possibility of a contravention of the doctrine occasionally arose.

**Montenegro:** A small Slav kingdom in the Balkans which preserved its independence since the Battle of Kossovo in 1389, despite the efforts of the Turks to conquer it. On the outbreak of war in 1914, and on the invasion of Serbia, Montenegro at once declared war on Austro-Hungary. Both countries were overrun by the Austro-German armies and the King of Montenegro took refuge in France. Members of his family, however, remained in Montenegro and in course of time entered into relations with the Austrian Government. As a consequence the King was not permitted by his Allies to return to his kingdom on the conclusion of an armistice. On the other hand, with the connivance of the Allies, especially of France, the Montenegrin Skupshtina proclaimed the incorporation of the kingdom in the newly constituted one of the

Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (now Yugoslavia), the successor of Serbia, and as a part of that state it has since remained.

**Montoire Agreement:** An agreement between Marshal Pétain, the head of the French Government, and Herr Hitler, the German Führer, at Montoire, in Occupied France, on 24 October 1940 to collaborate in the problems that lay before them.

**Montreux Straits Convention, The:** A Convention signed on 20 July 1936 regulating the question of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and replacing that of 24 July 1923, which was in effect an addendum to the Treaty of Lausanne. The earlier convention provided for the demilitarization of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and certain islands in the Aegean, the establishment of a Straits Commission responsible to the League of Nations, and an international guarantee of the freedom of navigation of the Straits and of the security of the demilitarized zone. The request for the abrogation of the demilitarization clauses came from Turkey. The request was favourably received, except by Italy, who refused to attend the Conference which was held at Montreux in Switzerland. The Convention authorized Turkey to remilitarize the Straits. Limits were imposed on the aggregate tonnage of warships to be at any time in transit through them, except in the case of the riparian Powers, and also on the type and maximum tonnage of warships of non-riparian Powers to be admitted into the Black Sea at any one time. In time of war no large fleet of a non-riparian state should be introduced into the Black Sea except on the invitation of the Turkish Government. The Convention was signed by the United Kingdom, Russia, France, Australia, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia and, with some reservations, Japan.

In March 1945 the Russian Government denounced its treaty of friendship and neutrality with Turkey and intimated that among the subjects of discussion prior to the negotiation of a new treaty would be the modification of the Montreux Straits Convention, and even went to the length of suggesting that it would require the concession of naval and air bases in the Straits area.



The Russo-Turkish Treaty expired on 7 November 1945 and the United States Government chose the occasion to put forward its suggestions for a settlement of the Straits controversy. These were to the effect that the Straits should be open to merchantmen of all nations at all times; that they should be open to warships of the Black Sea Powers at all times; that, save for an agreed limited tonnage, passage should be denied to warships of other than the Black Sea Powers, except with the specific consent of the Black Sea Powers or when they were acting on behalf of the United Nations Organization; and that the United Nations should take the place of the League of Nations in the convention and that Japan should be eliminated as a signatory. The Turkish and also the British Governments expressed themselves in general agreement with these proposals.

**Morgenthau Plan, The:** A proposal for the treatment of Germany, put forward by Mr. Henry Morgenthau Jun., then United States Secretary of the Treasury, in the autumn of 1944. Its main features were that German territory west of the Rhine should be annexed by France and that east of the Oder, or, at any rate, East Prussia and part of Pomerania, by Poland; that the remainder of Germany should be divided into two independent states, Northern and Southern Germany, and that in these two states all heavy industry and mining should be prohibited and only small-scale agriculture and small industries permitted.

**Morgenthau Plan:** see also Clearing Unions, International.

**Morocco:** Until the end of the nineteenth century Morocco, apart from a few ports that were Spanish possessions, was an independent state, with British influence greater than that of any other foreign Power. In 1900 France and Italy in agreement allotted Morocco as a sphere of influence to the former and Tripoli to the latter, and in 1904 a similar agreement between Britain and France allotted Egypt to the former and Morocco to the latter. In the same year an agreement between Spain and France defined the Spanish sphere in Morocco. Untrammelled by opposition from outside, France proceeded to gain some control and

administration in Morocco whereupon—in March 1904—Germany intervened and the Kaiser, when on a visit to Tangier, as one independent sovereign to another, expressed the hope that Morocco would retain her freedom. In less than two years (January 1906), at the Conference of Algeciras, thirteen Powers confirmed Moorish independence, but placed the police under French and Spanish control, and banking under that of France. France was given a privileged position on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier. The reaction of the Moors to this agreement was an anti-French outbreak in response to which France began to occupy the country. A war followed, but by January 1908 France had overrun the whole of Morocco which—Spanish as well as French—remained in a state of unrest, with occasional outbreaks.

In the midst of this period of disturbance Germany decided to send a gunboat to Agadir, a port on the Atlantic, to protect, as she said, her interests there. France protested and Britain formally objected to the acquisition by Germany of any territorial influence in that region. International relations became very delicate, but an agreement was reached between France and Germany (4 November) by which in return for the cession of territory in French West Africa, Germany recognized a French protectorate over Morocco. Spain objected to this agreement, but withdrew her objections on the recognition by France of the Spanish occupation of her zone. In 1912 the Emperor of Morocco formally accepted a French protectorate, with a French Resident-General as the virtual ruler, a part of his territory being sublet, as it were, to Spain.

During the period of the Great War there was unrest—even a revolt—throughout French Morocco, encouraged not only by Germany, but also by Spain. Fighting continued after the armistice in Europe, and was not brought to an end until 1923. From the French zone the revolt spread to the Spanish, and there it proved far more serious. In action against a Berber chieftain, Abd el Krim el Jatabi, the Spanish suffered a number of defeats and there seemed at one time a possibility of their expulsion from North Africa. Success in the Spanish zone turned Abd el Krim's eyes and ambitions

to the other side of the frontiers. Hostilities broke out with the French. At first the French suffered reverses, but reinforcements were poured into the country. Marshal Pétain took command of the forces: an alliance was arranged with the Spaniards, and on 7 November 1926 the war was at an end. But it took 280,000 French and Spanish troops to defeat 60,000 Berbers. Abd el Krim surrendered in the following June. For the first time the Spanish zone was completely occupied by Spain. A Franco-Spanish agreement which, for instance, gave each Power the right of pursuit across the frontiers of the other, followed. However, French Morocco was not yet fully subdued. So-called police measures continued and were concluded only in March 1934, after twenty-seven years of almost continual fighting.

The population of the French zone is estimated at between  $6\frac{1}{2}$  and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions, of whom about 175,000 are French and Algerians and about 62,000 of other foreign nationalities. In the Spanish zone there are from 750,000 to a million inhabitants. The principal export of the French zone is phosphates. Wheat comes next. France is the principal customer, Britain coming fourth on the list. The Spanish zone exports cattle, eggs, and iron ore, but not on a very large scale.

**Moscow Agreement, The:** The Foreign Minister (Mr. Bevin), the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. and the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. met in Moscow in December 1945 and were in conference for eleven days. This meeting was principally called to repair the cracks disclosed at the abortive meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the five principal Powers held in London in the previous September. The decisions of the Moscow Conference were to the effect that (a) A procedure was agreed on for the drawing up of peace treaties with the former German satellites. Before the treaties are textually completed they will be considered by a conference of all the allied nations that helped *substantially* to defeat these countries. (b) A Far Eastern Commission was to take the place of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission, and to be composed of Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and

the Philippine Commonwealth. This Commission might review instructions to the supreme commander of the Allied Powers, but any that might effect fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure should be issued only after agreement in the Commission. Action might be taken by majority decision, which must, however, include the votes of the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, and China. (c) An Allied Council for Japan, consisting of the supreme commander and a United States member, a Russian member, a Chinese member, and a member representing jointly the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and India, was to be appointed. The supreme commander would be the sole executive authority for the Allied Powers in Japan. (d) A provisional Korean democratic government was to be set up. A joint commission representing the United States command in the south and the Russian command in the north would assist in the task. Its recommendations would be 'presented' for the consideration of the Russian, Chinese, British, and United States Governments. The commission would submit proposals for a four-Power trusteeship of Korea. (e) The Foreign Ministers agreed on the need for a unified and democratic China under the National Government. The United States and Russia were in 'complete accord' on the desirability of the earliest withdrawal of American and Russian troops from China. (f) The present Governments in Rumania and Bulgaria were to be broadened by the inclusion of two members of other democratic parties. They would then be recognized by Great Britain and the United States. The Soviet Government had already recognized them. (g) The establishment of a commission of the United Nations on the control of atomic energy was recommended. The commission would report to the Security Council, and would make specific proposals for the exchange between all nations of scientific information for peaceful ends and for eliminating atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction. The subjects of Russian claims on Persia and Turkey were considered, but no agreement was reached.

The first proposal was communicated to the Governments

of France and China for their acceptance. That of China was given at once: that of France only after delay and doubt. The machinery constructed by the foregoing decisions was intended to provide safeguards against any Great Power taking unilateral steps on matters which others felt to be equally their concern.

**Moscow Declarations, The:** The British Foreign Minister, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Republics, and the Secretary of State of the United States of America met in Moscow in October 1943 and agreed on four declarations.

The first, which was signed also by a representative of the Government of China, provided for the closest possible collaboration in the prosecution of the war and in all matters that related to the surrender and disarmament of the enemy Powers. After the conclusion of the war the signatory Powers would continue their co-operation for the organization and maintenance of peace and security. They recognized the necessity of establishing as soon as possible, a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership of all such states, for the maintenance of peace and security. The signatory Governments undertook not to employ their military forces within the territories of other states except after joint consultation and for the purposes stated in the declaration. Finally, they undertook to take steps in agreement for the future regulation of armaments.

The Conference decided on the establishment in London of a European Advisory Commission consisting of representatives of the three Powers for the consideration of European questions as the war developed.

An Advisory Council for the consideration of matters relating to Italy was also determined on. On this there would be representatives also of the French, Greek, and Yugoslav Governments in exile. This Council would deal with questions, other than military ones. The Conference reiterated the previously announced policy of the three Governments for the restoration of democracy in Italy and announced their intention to restore the independence of

**Austria.** The annexation of Austria by Germany in March 1938 was declared null and void (see Austria).

With regard to the atrocities committed by German forces against the populations of the regions overrun by them, the Conference announced that the German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who were directly or indirectly responsible would, after the armistice, be sent to the countries in which they had committed their crimes, there to be tried and, if convicted, punished. Those major criminals whose offences had no particular geographical location would be punished by a joint decision of the three Powers.

**Most Favoured Nation Clause:** A clause frequently inserted in commercial agreements between states whereby the contracting Powers mutually agree to grant one another's goods customs rates as favourable as those granted by them to the subjects of any other Power. The duties levied under the Ottawa Agreements (q.v.) have been made exceptions to this rule.

**Mosul:** The northernmost province of Iraq, with its chief town of the same name, and a population (1935) of 453,004. By a secret treaty between France and England, concluded while the war was still in progress, the Mosul Vilayet which is exceptionally rich in petroleum was to have gone to France, but after the conclusion of peace France was persuaded to forgo her claims and Mosul was included in the Mandated Territory of Iraq which fell into the British sphere. The revived Turkey also made a claim to the Vilayet and supported it by incursions across the provisional frontier. In the end the League of Nations awarded the district to Iraq, and this was accepted by the Treaty of Angora (5 June 1926) between Britain, Turkey, and Iraq, Turkey being given a share of the royalties on the oil for a period of twenty-five years.

**Mozambique** (Portuguese East Africa): A Portuguese colony on the coast of East Africa, first colonized in 1505. The northernmost portion, a small district, which had been a part of German East Africa, was allotted to Portugal in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles. The capital is Lourenço Marques (Delagoa Bay), which is also the best known of half a dozen ports. This serves as a port for the Transvaal from

whose frontier it is 57 miles distant, and from Pretoria 347 miles. Beira, the second most important port, is 200 miles from the Rhodesian frontier, and its railway connects with the Rhodesian railway system. There is also a railway connexion between Beira and British Nyasaland. The principal products of Mozambique are sugar, maize, cotton, copra, and sisal. Two provinces, Manica and Sofafa, are administered by the Mozambique Company, with its seat at Beira.

**Mozambique Convention, The:** The first Mozambique Convention was signed in 1909. The signatories were the Governments of the Transvaal and Portugal. It reconciled the respective claims of Durban and Lourenço Marques (Delagoa Bay) to share in the trade of the Transvaal and authorized the recruiting of Portuguese natives to work in the Transvaal mines. This agreement did not work satisfactorily, but did not lapse until 1923. The recruiting of natives was, however, permitted to continue and a new convention was made on 11 September 1928. This is still in force.

**Munich Agreement:** Agreement made at Munich in September 1938 between Neville Chamberlain and M. Daladier, British and French Premiers, on the one side, and Adolf Hitler, the German Führer, on the other, with Benito Mussolini, as observer, for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, primarily for the aggrandizement of Germany. Neither Czechoslovakia, the Power primarily concerned, nor Russia with Britain and France jointly pledged to uphold the independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, was consulted. Hitler had for some time been threatening Czechoslovakia (see Sudetenland), and when the threats became alarming Lord Runciman was sent by the British Government on a semi-official mission to Prague to persuade the Government to offer at least a compromise so that the apparent danger of an armed attack by Germany might be averted. In this he was to some extent successful, but every concession by Czechoslovakia was met by a further demand by Germany. In the midst of the crisis (15 September) Chamberlain decided to visit Germany in order, as he thought, to influence the Führer. He was received at

Berchtesgaden. On his return to London the French Prime Minister, M. Daladier, and the Foreign Minister, were summoned to London. The result of this consultation was to bring pressure to bear on Czechoslovakia to grant Germany's extreme territorial demands immediately. On 22 September Chamberlain returned to Germany to inform the Führer of the conclusion he and the French Government had reached. He found, however, that Hitler's price had, in the meanwhile, been raised and he returned again to London with a memorandum (the Gödesberg Memorandum) of Hitler's new terms. The Czechs rejected the terms with the apparent approval of the British and French Governments (25 September). After a further fruitless appeal to Hitler to modify his terms, Chamberlain appealed to Mussolini to influence the German Führer. A third time he went to Germany (29 September), on this occasion to meet M. Daladier and Mussolini also. There the British and French statesmen gave way and showed in effect that they would agree to any terms Hitler might demand. This was the Munich Agreement, after which Britain and France stood aside while Germany in two bites consumed the whole of Czechoslovakia.

**Natal, Indians in:** See Indians in Natal.

**National Socialism:** The doctrine of the National Socialist Party in Germany, which was created by Adolf Hitler in 1919, as a working-men's party in opposition to that of the Socialists. He drew his recruits especially from the lower middle class which, as a consequence of the war and the Peace Treaty that followed it, was suffering widespread hopeless unemployment and frustration, secondly from the extreme Nationalists who were unreconciled to the defeat of Germany which they could explain only by attributing treason or semi-treason to those in control of Germany at the time, and thirdly from the latent revolutionary and criminal elements, hopeful in the one case of revolutionary change, in the other of satisfying their desires. From 1930 onwards the Movement grew rapidly. In that year the National Socialists or Nazis, as they are generally known, polled almost six and a half million votes out of



a total of 85 million in the Reichstag elections. Two years later the Nazi vote was doubled and with 230 seats the Party was the largest in the Reichstag. At another election at the end of 1932, however, the Party vote fell by two millions. On 30 January 1933 Hitler became Chancellor by a coalition with the Nationalists and 'Big Business'. Immediately a reign of terror supervened. All opponents, possible opponents and even private enemies of prominent members of the Party were deprived of all rights and cruelly ill-treated, in many cases murdered. The Jews of Germany in particular, who had been used throughout the National Socialist campaign as the lightning conductor against which to deflect all criticisms of the Party or its leaders, suffered in the person of every individual member, of Germans even of remote Jewish ancestry. A new doctrine of Aryanism (q.v.) was introduced, and a new religion set up—the worship of the German state with Hitler as its personification. By disfranchising and in many instances imprisoning political opponents, the Reichstag was at once made merely a recording instrument for Hitler's decrees. Later even this formality was dispensed with, just as all laws were suspended, actions and decisions that were for the benefit of Germany, that is to say the National Socialist Party, being announced as the supreme law to which all previous enactments must give way. The death of Marshal Hindenburg, the President of the German Republic, in August 1934, enabled Hitler to seize that office also. Both titles were abolished and Hitler proclaimed himself Führer or Leader of the German people in Germany and elsewhere.

In his relations with foreign powers Hitler had about as much consideration for law and justice as he had at home. Very large sums were spent in sowing internal dissension in other countries. In Spain, while pretending to be neutral he almost openly supported, mainly with arms, to a small extent with men, the Franquist rebels. The undertakings given by Germany in the Treaty of Versailles were ignored and by consecutive encroachments he attacked one country in Europe after the other, generally after having sown the seeds of dissension within them.

The original National Socialist programme, which was never abrogated, had twenty-five points: Equal rights for the German people and the abolition of the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles; German citizenship to be limited to persons of German blood, thereby excluding Jews from German political, economic, and cultural life; the abolition of the parliamentary system; the substitution of a people's army for a professional one; close control and direction of the press, literature, and art; the creation of a strong central government; the deportation of non-Germans and the practical exclusion of all foreign elements from Germany; the substitution of German for Roman common law; free education for all Germans on the basis of National Socialism; confiscation of war profits; the ruthless suppression of all who injure the common welfare; the promotion of health, physical training, and sports; the union of all Germans outside Germany under National Socialism; an extension of territory in Europe and elsewhere under German rule; the abolition of unearned income; the nationalization of trusts; profit-sharing in the larger business undertakings; the abolition of department and chain stores; the expropriation of land for the common good; the establishment of 'positive Christianity', and the eradication of the 'Jewish materialistic spirit'; non-citizens to be guests in Germany on sufferance; provision to be made by the State for the unemployed; all citizens to enjoy equal rights and duties; every citizen to be spiritually or physically productive; and generous provision to be made for the aged. The economic points of a socialist tendency in this programme were quietly abandoned. The others were put into force, some in their entirety, others to a large extent.

**Nauru:** A small island in the Western Pacific formerly a German possession ceded by the Treaty of Versailles and allotted to the British Empire as a whole as Mandatory. Its special value is as a very rich source of phosphates.

**Naval Bases, American:** see West Indies, American Naval Stations in the.

**Naval Disarmament:** Under the Covenant of the League of Nations the members of the League recognized 'that the

maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations'. A step in this direction, so far as naval armaments were concerned, was taken by the United States Government at the Washington Conference of November 1921. The American plan was in effect adopted and embodied in a treaty signed by the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan on 6 February 1922. Under this plan all existing capital shipbuilding plans were abandoned or suspended, existing fleets were to be reduced by the destruction of older vessels and no fresh building should be undertaken for ten years. The maximum replacement should amount to 500,000 tons each for the United States and Great Britain and 300,000 for Japan. No new vessel was to exceed 35,000 tons in displacement. A replacement ratio between these three powers of 10-10-6 was agreed to. With regard to France and Italy a replacement of 175,000 tons and a ratio in respect of the other powers of 3.5 were in each case agreed to. The British Government proposed the abolition of submarines but this proposal was not accepted by the other Powers, but the illegitimate use of submarines was condemned in the treaty that was afterwards signed.

In July 1928 the British and French Governments came to a provisional agreement for the limitation of the number and tonnage of surface vessels of less than 10,000 tons and of submarines of over 600 tons, but the United States Government rejected the proposal. Two years later, after much negotiation and discussion, a new Naval Treaty was signed in London on 22 April 1930. The first steps were taken by the United States Government, but the British Government, under J. Ramsay Macdonald, soon took the lead. The difficulty was with Japan which opposed the abolition of submarines and claimed parity in them with the United States and Great Britain. In regard to auxiliary vessels Japan claimed a ratio of 70 per cent of the tonnage of Great Britain or the United States. She claimed a similar ratio of eight-inch gun cruisers to that of the United States, the

strongest power in that respect. Italy demanded equality in all respects with France to which France, with two sea-boards and a large colonial empire, objected. Subject to this condition Italy was willing to reduce her naval forces to a minimum: France, however, would have had hers almost doubled if all her claims had been accepted. The Treaty laid down that no capital ships should be laid down during the next six years, except that France and Italy might build up to the total tonnage to which they were entitled. In the coming two and a half years the United States, Great Britain, and Japan should, by destruction or otherwise, reduce the tonnage of their capital ships to 456,200, 427,850, and 273,820 respectively. This part of the Treaty, which also dealt with technical matters, was accepted by all five Powers. To the remainder of the Treaty, however, it was not possible to get France and Italy to agree. It was therefore signed by the three other Powers only.

To meet the case of the exclusion of France and Italy from this part of the Treaty and the possible excessive building by one or other of them, the so-called 'escalator' clause was inserted. This permitted increases in these totals in such an event. One consequence of the London Naval Treaty was that the rights granted under the Washington Treaty to lay down replacement ships of 35,000 tons each during the years 1931 to 1936 were abrogated and the ratio of capital ships was reduced immediately to 15, 15, and 9 for Great Britain, the United States, and Japan respectively.

A new conference was held in London at the end of 1935. Its principal function was to negotiate a treaty to take the place of the Washington and London Naval Treaties that were about to expire. At one of the first meetings Japan withdrew her representatives on the rejection of her proposal for a common quantitative upper limit for navies, and she announced later that she was no longer a party to the Three Power Treaty. Italy also declined to sign the Treaty which was agreed to early in March. This Treaty defined certain categories of ships, limited the tonnage of ships and size of guns, and stipulated a 'zone of no construction'. The rules regarding submarine warfare included in the London Naval

Treaty of 1930 had been accepted only by Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, but in 1936 France and Italy also acceded to them. Negotiations were then opened with Russia and Germany and on 17 July 1937 Britain concluded agreements with those two Powers whereby they in effect adhered to the London Naval Treaty of 1936.

**Nazi:** Contraction for National Socialist (q.v.).

**Netherlands Indies:** This region, consisting of many islands south-east of Asia and north of Australia, comprises almost the whole of the Netherlands colonial empire. The principal islands are Java (q.v.), Sumatra, Celebes, Borneo, and New Guinea, of which last two the Dutch possess only portions. The islands stretch from Borneo in the north to Java and Sumba in the south, and from Sumatra in the west to New Guinea in the east. Batavia in Java is the administrative capital.

The total area of the Netherlands Indies is 735,268 square miles and the population (1930 census) was 60,727,233. Some sixty languages are spoken by a number of races. In religion the great majority of the population is Moslem. The Portuguese were the first European people to settle in the islands, but they were ejected by the British and the Dutch after fifty years, in 1595. The Dutch, in turn, ejected the British from their portion. The beginning of the advance of the Dutch in this part of the world was really in 1602 when the Netherlands East India Company was formed. Their conquests grew from year to year until 1798 when the Company was dissolved and the territories transferred to the Dutch Crown. Over long periods there has been deep dissatisfaction on the part of large sections of the population with their status, and this dissatisfaction has at times developed into organized revolts. One of these, in Achin, lasted, at times more actively than at others, for more than thirty years from 1873.

The present constitution dates from 1922. At the head of the Administration is a Governor-General who, together with his advisory council, is appointed by the Queen. The Governor-General shares with the Volksraad, which consists of 22 members appointed by the Government and 38 elected

by all sections of the population, control in all internal matters, but they are subject to a general supervision by the Home authorities. Indonesians are eligible for all offices. In the islands that are less administratively advanced, administration is almost entirely in the hands of officials who are, however, mainly drawn from the natives of the Netherlands Indies as a whole.

The Japanese, during their occupation of the Netherlands Indies, gave great encouragement to the independence movement, although the amount of autonomy authorized was small. On the defeat of the Japanese there was an interval before the Allied Powers—in reality British forces only—were able to enter the islands and advantage was taken of this interval for the appearance of an active Independence Movement under the leadership of Dr. Soekarno, who had in the first years of the occupation co-operated with the Japanese. At first this movement was solely anti-Dutch but gradually the British occupying forces became involved and there were pitched battles with them. The few Dutch troops in the country were under British command. The nationalist movement originated among the Javanese intelligentsia and, though it spread to the other islands, the idea of a common nationality embracing all the peoples of the archipelago made little appeal beyond the professional and commercial classes. Even among these the desire to create a common nation had something of an artificial character. The immigration and economic penetration of Chinese and Indians are resented by all classes equally.

Some three years before the surrender of Japan, not long after the invasion of the Netherlands Indies, the Dutch Government realized that constitutional reforms in the administration of the Islands were due. In December 1942 the Queen of Holland proposed that a conference representing all parts of the Empire should be called soon after liberation with a view to reconstructing the system 'on a solid basis of complete partnership'. 'I visualize,' she said, 'without anticipating the recommendations of the future conference, that they will be directed towards a Commonwealth in which

the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam, and Curaçao will take part, with complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct for each part regarding its internal affairs, but with a readiness to render mutual assistance. Such a combination of independence and collaboration can give the kingdom and its parts the strength to carry their responsibility to the full, both internally and externally.'

On the 6 November 1945, when Java, the principal island of the Netherlands Indies, was in a state of rebellion, the Dutch Government took some steps in putting forward more concrete proposals. The position of Dr. Soekarno, the President of the 'Republic', was, however, ignored. Dr. Soekarno is one of the Moderates in his party, which seems to be purely nationalist, with none of the Communist influences apparent in similar contemporary movements elsewhere.

The offer of November 1945 did not meet with acceptance and the situation continued to deteriorate. Moreover, Russia began to display an interest in Indonesian affairs and, acting through one of her dependants, the Government of the Ukraine, raised the question of the situation in Java, indirectly through the presence of British troops there, before the Security Council of the United Nations at its meeting in London in February 1946. The Government of the Netherlands thereupon took a further step forward. It communicated to the representative of the rebels proposals for a new constitution for Indonesia. This comprised the creation of a Commonwealth of Indonesia, composed of territories possessing different degrees of autonomy, an equal partner in a kingdom comprising Holland itself and the Dutch colonies of Surinam and Curaçao, in a sort of federation. There would be an Indonesian citizenship giving title to exercise all civil rights in all parts of the kingdom. A government of Indonesia, chosen on a democratic basis, would have complete control of all domestic affairs, but a representative of the Crown would be the head of the Government's Executive, and this Head of the Government would have special powers to guarantee fundamental rights, efficient administration and sound financial management.

The constitution proposed was to be in force for a limited period. The Commonwealth is to include all the territory in the Malay Archipelago under Dutch sovereignty, but the different islands, standing at different levels of political development, are for the present to enjoy different degrees of local autonomy. Within this Commonwealth a Republic of Java was conceivable. A promise was also made that steps would be taken to secure the admission of Indonesia to the United Nations Organization.

**Neuilly, Treaty of:** Treaty of peace between the Allied Powers and Bulgaria signed at Neuilly on 27 November 1919. Under the Treaty Yugoslavia gained some small additions of territory and Greece secured Western Thrace (q.v.), thereby cutting Bulgaria off from the Aegean Sea. By the Treaty Bulgaria lost a population of 300,000, most of whom were Bulgars. The Bulgarian army was reduced to 20,000 men, all bound for twelve years' service. These conditions of service prevented the recruitment of the full complement which, in any event, would have been insufficient to guarantee internal order. The indemnity was fixed in the Treaty at £90 million, but on investigation on the spot by the representatives of the three principal Allied Powers, this sum was very soon reduced by three-quarters. By a separate instrument Bulgaria was forced to restore the Southern Dobrudja (q.v.) to Rumania.

**New Caledonia:** A large island in the Western Pacific, east of Australia and north-west of New Zealand. Together with its dependencies it forms a French colony administered by a governor assisted by a privy council consisting of four officials and two private residents. The capital is Noumea, the total area 8,548 square miles, and the population, in 1939, 55,000. The island is a convict station: to other Frenchmen it has little attraction. Two-thirds are uncultivable. The principal products of the other third are coffee, copra, cotton, cassava, maize, tobacco, and tropical fruits. The island is very rich in minerals—antimony, mercury, chrome, cobalt, nickel, iron, manganese, silver, gold, lead, and copper.

**New Deal, American:** A series of measures taken by



the Government of the U.S.A. under the direction of President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 and subsequently, for the social security of the population which was threatened by the economic crisis. The measures taken were for the provision of employment at adequate remuneration at almost any cost to the state. Among its principal instruments were the Agricultural Adjustment Act, designed to raise the prices of farm produce, which was later declared unconstitutional, the National Industrial Recovery Act, which placed the industry of the whole country under the control of the Government, which was also declared unconstitutional, and a number of Government undertakings on a very large scale, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Grand Coulee and Bonneville irrigation plants. The New Deal has been defined as the implication of the responsibility of the Government for the welfare of the people as a whole. Its programme is 'to determine what are fair wages and hours of work, to provide adequate security for old age, to furnish employment for millions of unemployed, to devise plans for the relief of the submerged farmers and . . . to assume a hundred other paternalistic duties that many a professed state socialist of a generation ago would have thought beyond its sphere'. The President claimed at the beginning of 1939 that the New Deal programme had by then been successfully completed. But this view was not unanimously shared nor was opinion in the United States unanimous in approval of the means adopted by the President to secure its success. The outbreak of war in the same year destroyed, for the time being, the opportunity of testing its success or failure.

**Newfoundland:** A large island off the eastern coast of Canada, forming a self-governing British colony. The large but very sparsely inhabited district on the mainland, Labrador, is a part of the colony. Newfoundland is the oldest British colony in America. It was discovered and annexed by John Cabot in 1497. It has, almost from its discovery, been a centre of the English fishing industry. Over many years Newfoundland was an object of contest with France, and in the end France was granted certain fishing rights there, a cause of long-standing irritation. In 1832 representative

government was granted to the colony, but the disputes with France over the fishing and related rights continued. These were ended only in 1904 by an agreement between the British and French Governments, which provided for compensation to French citizens and territorial concessions in Africa. Self-government in Newfoundland never proved completely successful. On several occasions entry into the Canadian Federation was suggested but always rejected by Newfoundland. At length, in 1934, on the recommendation of a Royal Commission appointed to examine into the future of the Colony and to report on the financial situation, the constitution was suspended and the legislative and executive powers entrusted to a governor acting on the advice of a specially created commission of six members (three from the United Kingdom and three from Newfoundland). This was to continue until Newfoundland showed itself again to be self-supporting and in the meanwhile Great Britain assumed responsibility for its finances. In 1940-1, expenditure exceeded revenue by about two million dollars, but four years later there was a small favourable balance.

See also West Indies, American Naval Stations in.

**New Hebrides:** The New Hebrides islands, lying between New Caledonia and the Solomon Islands, have been administered since 1906 under an Anglo-French condominium (q.v.), which has not worked very satisfactorily. Maize, coffee, cotton, cocoa, vanilla, and coco-nuts are the principal articles of export. Sulphur is also abundant. The commerce is overwhelmingly in French hands. The population in 1939 was almost 50,000, of whom 750 were French and 178 British.

**New Order, Nazi:** The National Socialist scheme for the permanent exploitation of that part of Europe which had been or would be overrun. In this scheme the Germans were to be the *Herrenvolk* or master people and the other peoples occupy an inferior status of different degrees. First would come the other Nordic peoples—the Scandinavians, the Dutch, and the Flemish—then the French and Belgian Walloons, next the Czechs. The Poles would be the lowest of all nations. The Jews were to be at the bottom level.

The economy of all these peoples was to be so organized as to minister to the requirements of the Germans. In return they were to be guaranteed economic security and peace but no freedom.

**Nice:** District in the south-east of France, on the Italian frontier. For centuries it was a bone of contention between France and Savoy. From 1748, except for a French interlude of twenty-two years from 1792 to 1814, Nice, the district, remained a part of the Kingdom of Sardinia in which Savoy had been incorporated, but in 1860 the district was ceded to France in part payment for French support in the war of Italian unity. The cession was ratified by a plebiscite in which five-sixths of the voters approved of the cession. In very recent years an agitation has arisen in Italy, with no echo in Nice, but with the tacit, later open, encouragement of the Fascist Government of Italy, for the return of Nice.

**Nickel:** Nickel ore is mined for the most part in Canada where 102,600 tons were produced in 1939 out of a total world output of 121,000. Other producing countries are New Caledonia and Russia. Nickel is used for the manufacture of domestic utensils, for crucibles, coinage, plating, and for the preparation of various alloys.

**Nigeria:** see Africa, British West.

**Nine Power Treaty:** see Washington Conference.

**Non-Aggression Pact:** An agreement between two powers not to attack one another in any circumstances, but to submit all disputes to peaceful settlement. Most of the powers of Europe entered into such pacts with one another previous to the outbreak of war in 1939.

**Non-Aryan:** Term invented by the German National Socialists (Nazis) to describe a person not fully of German race, but in practice a Jew or descendant of at least one Jewish grandparent. (For certain purposes ancestry is traced back to the year 1800 and those who cannot show a pure Aryan ancestry throughout are under disability.) Persons of African or Asiatic race are also non-Aryans, but Japanese have been relieved of the 'stigma' as 'honorary Aryans'. Non-Aryans in Germany were not only second-class citizens deprived by law of most of the rights to which German

citizens were entitled, but were, moreover, to a large extent subject to the whim of any enemy, personal or public, without the protection of the law.

**Non-Intervention:** A fictitious policy invented during the course of the Spanish Civil War (1935-9) by which the principal powers undertook not to intervene. An international Non-Intervention Committee was appointed for the purpose. In practice the Governments of Russia, France, Germany, and Italy all aided, in the end openly, one side or the other, the Italian Government sending organized armies and boasting of their exploits. So long, however, as the pretence that these governments were not intervening in the conflict continued they were considered to be observing their undertaking.

**Norfolk Island:** An island in the Pacific Ocean, about half-way between Australia and New Zealand, but north-west of New Zealand. It is a dependency of Australia. Its area is 8,528 acres and its population (1931) was 992. Discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, the island was for some years a penal settlement. In 1856 it was peopled by settlers from the Pitcairn Islands, who were entrusted with self-government, but this arrangement failed, and the administration was taken over by New South Wales in 1896. The island is very fertile. A number of varieties of tropical and sub-tropical fruit are grown on it.

**Norway:** Scandinavian kingdom on the North Atlantic, comprising the western half of the Scandinavian peninsula. As a punishment of Denmark, which had passed under French influence during the Napoleonic wars, Norway, which had been a kingdom under the Danish crown, was detached and placed by the victorious Powers under the King of Sweden. The Norwegians objected to the union, but this objection was overcome and the union was consummated by the Act of Union of 6 August 1815. Norway had her own constitution and Government, but shared with Sweden one foreign office and one diplomatic and consular service. To Norway this was irksome and the disputes to which it gave rise almost led to war between the two partners in 1892 and 1898. In the end differences over the foreign

representation of Norway led to a dissolution of the partnership between the two kingdoms (June 1905). The separation was quite friendly on both sides. A Danish prince was chosen King of Norway.

During the war of 1914 to 1918 Norway, in common with the other Scandinavian countries, remained neutral. In the years that followed the war, Norway grew closer to the other Scandinavian powers with which other smaller neutral powers—Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg—also became associated. The group was known as the Oslo Blok. The territorial integrity of Norway had been guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia in 1907, but this undertaking was withdrawn in 1924. When war broke out in 1939 Norway again declared her neutrality. There were, however, instances of infringements on the part of both belligerents and on 9 April 1940 Germany suddenly invaded Norway, brushed aside all opposition and speedily occupied the whole country. The King and Government escaped to England and the German Government, after ineffective efforts to get co-operation from some representative section of the population, put an obscure Norwegian fascist, Vidkun Quisling, who had vainly attempted previously to get support from electors, in control. See also Scandinavia.

The area of the country is 124,556 square miles and the population is estimated (1940) at 2,952,000. Both in imports and exports Great Britain comes first and Ireland second. The principal exports to England are wood pulp, paper and cardboard, fish, iron and steel, iron ore, and hides and skins.

**Nürnberg Laws:** see Aryan Decrees.

**Nyon Agreement, The:** An agreement between the nine Mediterranean and Black Sea Powers, in September 1937, to deal drastically with the 'piracy' exercised by submarines in the interests of the Spanish rebels, strongly suspected to be Italian, in the course of the Civil War. Germany and Italy refused to accede to the agreement. In the absence of these two Powers, agreement was reached within a few days. The representatives of the Powers met at Nyon in Switzerland. Britain and France undertook to patrol the Mediterranean and to sink at sight any submarine that departed from

the course laid down. The control of the Black Sea was entrusted to Russia. The Powers also undertook to come to the assistance of any non-Spanish ship that might be attacked. The attack on the first submarine to be found, presumably an Italian one, brought the whole campaign of piracy to an end. This unexpected determination induced Italy to reconsider her refusal and she then accepted a share in the patrol whose work had, however, been completed.

**Ogpu, The:** The Secret Police Department of the Government of the Union of Russian Soviet Republics. Its function is 'to suppress political and economic counter-revolution, espionage, and banditry'. In short, it is one of the principal supports of the Communist régime in Russia. Like all similar organizations, the Ogpu has to a great extent made use of terrorization in the performance of its tasks. From 1938 onwards the hand of the Ogpu has been somewhat lighter and its ruthlessness modified.

**Oil:** see also Mexico Petroleum; Petroleum.

**Oil, Middle East:** The threatened exhaustion of the petroleum supplies of the United States of America, as a consequence of extravagant consumption in past years, directed attention to the possible sources of an alternative supply. The conclusion reached was that this was most practicable in the Middle East and in particular in Arabia, where very great untapped supplies were believed to exist. It was estimated that in 1942 the respective figures for reserves in thousands of barrels were U.S.A. 20 million, Persian Gulf region 16½ million. A large part of prospective oilfields in the Middle East were already covered by concessions. The most easterly of these, in Eastern Persia and Afghanistan, was obtained in 1937 by an American company, but lapsed before the outbreak of war in 1939. In Southern Persia the concession was gained in 1901, and subsequently passed to the Anglo-Persian, later Anglo-Iranian, Oil Company. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has a pipe-line from its fields to its refinery at Abadan. Before the war it exported about 10,000,000 tons annually.

Before the 1914-18 war the Turkish Petroleum Company had been formed in order to obtain a concession over the

northern part of Iraq from the Ottoman Government, and negotiations had almost been concluded by August 1914. As a result of the war a German holding in the Turkish Petroleum Company was transferred to a combination of French oil interests. After application by Washington for the observation of the 'open door' principle a further re-allotment of the shares took place to make room for the Near East Development Corporation, the union of United States interests, and a concession was finally obtained from the Iraq Government in 1925. Drilling began in the neighbourhood of Kirkuk, where in 1927 the first gusher was struck.

When the decision was taken to build a pipe-line from the Kirkuk fields to the Mediterranean, the Company, which in 1931 assumed the title Iraq Petroleum Company, was in the hands of five parties. Mr. Gulbenkian, who participated in the original negotiations, was allotted 5 per cent of the shares and the remaining 95 per cent was divided equally among the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the Royal Dutch Shell group, the Near East Development Corporation, and the Compagnie Française des Pétroles. It was resolved that a double pipe-line should run from the oil-wells as far as Haditha on the Euphrates, whence separate lines ran across the desert to Tripoli and Haifa. By the time the war broke out a total annual output of 4,000,000 tons was passing through these two terminals, from which the oil was taken by tanker to be refined in Europe. Since the war a refinery built by the A.I.O.C. and Shell constituents of the I.P.C. has been constructed at Haifa.

Although in the I.P.C.'s concessionary areas the Kirkuk fields alone are actually producing oil, this company and its associates hold other concessions in the Middle East, some of them known to contain oil. Through the parent company, the Mosul Petroleum Company, and the Basrah Petroleum Company, they have all Iraq to exploit. They have rights in practically all Syria and in most of Palestine. On the other side of the Arabian continent they have the concessions in Qatar. On the Trucial coast they have agreements with all the five rulers concerned; in Muscat and Dhufar they have an agreement with the Sultan of Muscat and Oman; and in

the Hadhramaut they hold licences from the Governor of Aden.

In all the enterprises here mentioned American interests hold a  $23\frac{3}{4}$  per cent share. In the Sheikhdum of Koweit, however, they hold a 50 per cent interest. In Bahrein and Saudi Arabia they possess exclusive rights, and by the outbreak of war in 1939 they were exporting over 1,000,000 tons annually. Two years later the American companies secured a concession in the Hasa Province of Saudi Arabia, a concession since much enlarged to cover a great part of Ibn Saud's kingdom.

Oil was first struck in Saudi Arabia in June 1936, and from that year to the end of 1940 production showed a rapid expansion. According to the United States Bureau of Mines it reached 5,365,000 barrels in the latter year, compared with 3,934,000 barrels in 1939 and 495,000 barrels in 1938. Since early in 1941, however, shortage of equipment held up further progress, and in both 1941 and 1942 Arabia's oil production remained slightly below 6,000,000 barrels. Reliable reports, however, indicated that, adequate supplies of materials being assured, production could be doubled within a few months and much farther extended within a few years.

In January 1946 the High Commissioner for Palestine granted a concession to an American group for a pipe-line, coming from the Persian Gulf, to enter Palestine, and end at the coast. By a Russo-Persian agreement in April 1946 the oil-fields of Persia were reserved for exploitation by those two Powers.

The United States Government pressed its demands for a greater share in the petroleum oil of the Middle East very energetically and was anxious to attain its object by agreement with Great Britain. To this end negotiations between the two Governments were initiated. At the same time United States interests took steps to secure the friendliness of those Arab rulers in whose territories there were considerable oil resources. The United States Government was said to favour some sort of joint Anglo-American control in the Middle Eastern area, but private interests in the United States were averse to this. In the end, in September



1945, an Anglo-American agreement was signed. It took the place of a similar agreement of a year earlier that had to be withdrawn under the pressure of private interests in the United States. The new agreement provided for the establishment of an Anglo-American Petroleum Commission to further 'the efficient and orderly development of the international petroleum trade' with the ultimate aim of the negotiation of an international petroleum agreement endorsed by 'the Governments of all interested producing and consuming countries' and embodied in the creation of a permanent International Petroleum Council.

The dominant features in the negotiations were the American unwillingness to accept any international regulation, direct or implied, of the domestic oil industry of the United States, and the British inability to consent to any arrangement which, while excluding the large American production, would subject to control the oversea sources of British supplies. To meet these views, the agreements had to suffer restrictions. The 'operation of the domestic petroleum industry within the country of either Government' is excluded, except that existing rights and contracts and the principle of 'equal opportunity' must everywhere be respected. The proposed Commission—and eventually the permanent International Council—will study the problems of the trade in petroleum products, assess the effects of changing technology, prepare estimates of world supply and demand, and in consultation with the petroleum industry consider ways and means of making available adequate supplies 'to the nationals of all countries on a competitive and non-discriminatory basis'. Its proposals will not be binding on either the signatory Governments or their nationals, and the role envisaged is entirely consultative.

**Oil, Olive:** The world production of olive oil in the year 1937–8 was 1,118,000 tons; in 1938–9, 752,000; in 1939–40, 1,070,000; and in 1940–1, 670,000 tons. In the first of these years 380,000 tons were produced in Spain, 272,300 in Italy, 187,500 in Greece, 97,200 in Portugal, and the remainder in smaller quantities in other Mediterranean countries. In 1940–1 Spain was the principal producer with 284,100 tons,

Italy with 145,000, and Greece with 99,200. No other country produced more than 34,500 tons (Portugal).

**Oil, Palm:** Palm oil has a number of uses. It is an ingredient in the manufacture of soap and candles. It is of great value in the tinplate industry and is used as a lubricant, especially for railway car axles. Palm oil is also used for the colouring of butter substitutes. It is produced in West Africa and Malaya. The total output in 1938 was 323,000 tons. Of this output 39·2 per cent was produced in the Netherlands Indies, 29 in Nigeria, 13·7 in the Belgian Congo, and 8·6 in British Malaya.

**Open Door Policy:** Admission to a country, especially for commercial purposes, to the nationals of all countries on equal terms: a policy of the fullest freedom of trade. The term was used in particular from 1898 onwards in respect of the trade with China and the use for it of the Chinese ports. This policy was in effect founded on the Most Favoured Nation Clause (q.v.) included in most commercial treaties.

**Optional Clause:** see Permanent Court of International Justice.

**Oslo Block:** See Norway.

**Oslo Convention:** An agreement between Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg (22 December 1930) by which they undertook to apply among themselves, as far as was practicable, the principles of Free Trade. The agreement was open to the accession of other Powers, and Finland took advantage of this opportunity. In May 1937 there was a further agreement between these Powers in which certain trade details were settled. The agreement showed signs of developing into a wider one, going outside the economic sphere, but the outbreak of war necessarily brought both the agreement and this movement to an end. As long as possible, however, the four northern Powers kept together, determined to preserve their neutrality and to pursue one policy in foreign affairs.

**Ossewabrandwag:** see South Africa, Union of.

**Ostland:** The four northern Polish provinces, Polesia, Bialystok, Nouvo-Grodek, and Wilno, formed into an administrative unit by the Germans after their occupation of

Poland. To these Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, were afterwards added.

See also Poland.

**Ottawa Agreements, The:** A number of trade agreements concluded at the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1882, between Great Britain on the one side and the Dominions (except the Irish Free State), India, and Southern Rhodesia on the other, under which almost the whole produce of the other parties was admitted to Great Britain free of customs duties, and a preference over other competitors in the British market was granted to the remainder of the produce. On the other side Britain and her colonies were granted a larger measure of preference in the Dominion and other markets. The agreements were valid in the first instance for five years. They followed the reversal of the fiscal policy on which Great Britain had been governed for three generations and the adoption of protection of home markets by Great Britain. At the same time Great Britain undertook to impose new or increased duties on goods, competing with those of the Dominions, that were imported from foreign countries, and, if it was considered necessary, to prohibit such imports altogether. The amount of meat to be imported from foreign countries was at the same time limited. Steps were taken so that the policy of Imperial Preference to which the Ottawa Agreements gave form should not be nullified by the Most Favoured Nation Clause (q.v.) concluded in most other commercial agreements. The Ottawa agreements were necessarily not well received in foreign countries. Moreover all the results they were intended to obtain for Great Britain and the Dominions did not follow, and in more than one Dominion a movement arose for their amendment.

**Pacific Islands, The British:** The British Pacific Islands consist of the Fiji group, the Tonga group (q.v.), the British Solomon Islands (q.v.), the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn Island, and the New Hebrides (q.v.). Of these Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and Pitcairn, are colonies, Tonga and the British Solomon Islands are protectorates, and the New Hebrides is under an Anglo-French

condominium. In addition to the foregoing, the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau or the Union Islands, are dependencies of New Zealand, Western Samoa (q.v.) is administered by New Zealand under a mandate and Nauru (q.v.) is also under a mandate granted to the British Empire and administered by Australia. There is also another small and very recent condominium, one over Canton and Enderbury, two small islets in the Gilbert and Ellice group, over which there is a joint British-United States condominium. These two islands were in sole British possession until 1938, when the Americans, reaching the conclusion that they would be useful as an air-base, landed a naval party there. Negotiations followed and in the end an agreement was signed in April 1939 whereby the two Governments set up a joint control, to continue for at least fifty years 'without prejudice to their respective claims'.

The above-mentioned islands are scattered over the greater part of the Southern Pacific Ocean. They are for the most part included in Melanesia but some of them—Samoa, Cook Islands, and Pitcairn—are in Polynesia. The native population falls into three main groups, with a number of sub-divisions—Polynesians, Micronesians, and Melanesians. The physical and intellectual standards of the inhabitants vary widely.

**Pacifism:** The advocacy of international peace at almost any price: more properly the advocacy of arbitration and conciliation as alternatives to war.

**Pakistan:** The partition of India along communal lines, advocated by the Moslem League and in fact in its eyes a fundamental condition of any Indian settlement to which the League would agree. Any unitary government based on a democratic system it believes would transform the Moslems of India into a permanent minority under Hindu rule. Pakistan would comprise a Moslem state or states consisting of the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjaub, Sind, Assam, Kashmir, Baluchistan, and Bengal. The British Government, in its proposals for a settlement made in the spring of 1942, did not rule out such a scheme as not to be considered, and in later negotiations (in 1944) Mahatma Gandhi,

‘the uncrowned king of the Hindus’, toyed with the idea. The term is derived from the initial letters of the five provinces excluding Bengal, Afghan, which people largely comprise the population of the North-West Province, being substituted for the name of that Province.

**Palestine:** Until 1922 Palestine was a part of the Ottoman Empire, having been incorporated in that Empire on its conquest in 1517. Previously it had been under Arab rule, except for the interlude of the Latin Kingdom, since 636. Still earlier, Palestine had been a part of the Asiatic territories of the Empire. It ceased to be an independent state under the Hasmonean princes in the century before the beginning of the present era and even then its independence was somewhat shadowy.

Under the Treaty of Lausanne (1922) Palestine was detached from the Ottoman Empire and placed under a Mandate of the League of Nations, its administration being entrusted to Great Britain (see Mandate System). Incorporated in the Mandate was the Balfour Declaration (q.v.), which promised that favour would be shown to ‘the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people’ without prejudice to ‘the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities’. The practically simultaneous assurance to the Sherif of Mecca, afterwards King of Hejaz, that ‘the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political’ would be safeguarded was, however, not mentioned. At that time about eleven per cent of the population of Palestine was Jewish. For the subsequent twenty years a controversy has raged around the question whether there was an obligation on the Mandatory Power to safeguard the political rights of the ‘non-Jewish communities’ (i.e. the Arabs) and whether Jewish immigration and the acquisition of land by Jews on a large scale endangered the rights of those communities. The Arabs, as a body, have persistently refused to recognize the Mandate, arguing that in accordance with the Covenant of the League and prior assurances given by the Allied Governments, the people of Palestine were entitled to choose their own form of government, the Mandatory Power being limited to guiding them in

the direction of self-government. They resent the encouragement given by the Mandatory to the immigration of foreign Jews on a large scale and the acquisition of land and other facilities by them. They have repeatedly risen in arms against this policy and in 1936 a revolt broke out that lasted for over three years. It came to an end only with the outbreak of the European War, and then after the failure of a project for the partition of the country between Jews and Arabs, with the Holy Cities reserved under a perpetual British Mandate, and the substitution for it of a new policy comprising (a) the limitation of immigration so that the Jewish population shall not exceed one-third of the total, (b) the division of the country for the purposes of land acquisition into three zones in only one of which Jews would be free to acquire land, and (c) the association of Palestinians (Arabs and Jews) in the administration of the country. The termination of the Mandate and the creation of a sovereign independent state, similar in status to Egypt or Iraq, was envisaged after a period of ten years, at the end of five of which steps were to be taken to draw up a constitution by the British and Palestinians jointly. The new policy, so far as immigration and land were concerned, was implemented, but the remainder of the programme was suspended, pending the restoration of peace. In the meanwhile the Jewish population, which was about 55,000 on the British occupation, had grown to 579,000 at the end of 1945, rising from eleven per cent to 31.6 per cent of the total population.

With the end of the World War in 1945 and the pressure of Jewish emigration from Europe, and, on the other hand, the organization of Arab opposition in the Arab League, the present and future of Palestine became a matter of urgency. The Zionists in America had also put great pressure on the United States Government and Congress to induce them to support their demands and had succeeded to the extent of persuading President Truman to ask the British Government to admit an immediate instalment of 100,000 immigrants. The new Labour Government in Britain in reply suggested that the United States Government should join with it in investigating the condition of the

Jews in Europe and the situation in Palestine. President Truman accepted the invitation with some hesitation and a joint Anglo-American commission was thereupon appointed with instructions to make an interim report within four months.

The unanimous recommendations of the Committee were as a whole unacceptable to both Zionists and Arabs and each party proposed to make a selection from them. The Zionists welcomed that which advocated the immediate admission to Palestine, regardless of consequences, of 100,000 Jewish refugees. The further recommendation that the British, United States and other governments should take immediate steps to find new homes for the other Jewish 'Displaced Persons' on the Continent was given little consideration. The Arabs welcomed the forthright objection to the creation of a Jewish state and the Zionists the parallel denunciation of any project for the creation of an Arab state in Palestine. The Committee advocated a bi-national state in which Palestinian Jews and Arabs would be equal citizens, but not a sovereign independent state, for they envisaged the continuance of the mandate, transformed into a trusteeship, indefinitely. At this proposal both sides looked askance. The withdrawal of the existing immigration and land purchase regulations which were directed against Jewish expansion was recommended, but, as alternative safeguards for the Arab rural population, the protection of small owners and tenant cultivators and the prohibition of the practice of refusing to let land to or employ a man of another nationality were advocated. The raising of the cultural, political, and material standards of the Arab population and the agricultural and industrial development of the country in the interests of its people as a whole were considered imperative. Finally, violence in any form on either side must be resolutely suppressed, and the Jewish Agency was called on to co-operate in the suppression of terrorism and illegal immigration.

See also Zionism.

**Pan-Africanderdom:** A state or community including all South Africans of Dutch ancestry.

**Panama Canal:** This canal, which connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, was cut through Central America by the United States Government and was opened for traffic on 15 August 1914. For the purpose, land, which is under the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the United States of America, was acquired by treaty and by purchase from the State of Panama. Payment was also made to the Republic of Colombia from which the State of Panama had seceded in 1903. The Canal Zone, which covers 553 square miles, is under military government. Five thousand three hundred and seventy vessels with 27,299,016 tons of cargo passed through the Canal in the year 1940. Of these vessels 1,997 were United States and 1,078 British. The Canal Zone is administered by a Governor appointed by the President of the United States. He is also in control of the operation of the Canal. The Zone is in effect a territory of the United States.

**Panama, Declaration of:** Joint statement made by the representatives of twenty Latin-American states and the United States of America at Panama on 2 October 1939. The statement, drafted by the United States representative, after emphasizing American solidarity and neutrality, announced the establishment of a 'safety belt' extending to 300 miles from the coasts of America, within which all belligerent activities would be outlawed and all passenger ships would proceed on their courses in safety. The fulfilment of the Declaration being quite impracticable, it remained a dead letter.

**Pan-Americanism:** The idea of a political union between all the states of North and South America.

**Pan-American Union:** This body grew out of a suggestion made in 1881 by the United States Secretary of State that the American republics should confer with a view to preventing all internecine wars. The Pan-American Union (International Union of American Republics) was constituted at Washington at a conference of American Powers held there on 29 March 1890. This first Pan-American Conference resolved that 'arbitration constituted the public law of the American nations'. Further Pan-American conferences have



since been held at intervals, as a rule, of five years. The basic purpose of the Pan-American Union is the development of closer intellectual and commercial relations between the American republics and their co-operation whenever possible. At the Congress of 1939, held at Panama, the Declaration of Panama (q.v.) was made. The Union has always been very much under the influence of the United States, and this has at times been resented by the other members, especially the Argentine. At the Havana Conference of 1928 a declaration that the American states would adopt 'obligatory arbitration as the means . . . for the pacific solution of their differences of a juridical character' was adopted. At the Conference at Lima in 1938 the Declaration of Lima was adopted. This stated that in the event of the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American republic being threatened, such threat would be the common concern of all the states members of the Union and that they would take such steps as the circumstances warranted, without prejudice to their individual sovereignty. At the Conference at Havana of 1940 the Act of Havana laid down that in the event of European territory in the American hemisphere being threatened with acquisition by another non-American Power, the American nations would take charge of it until it could be restored to its former status or granted autonomy. The Conference at Rio de Janeiro of 1942 recommended that all states represented at it should break off relations with the Axis Powers. Only the Argentine and Chile failed to do so at once; Chile did so after an interval: the Argentine still later. Some of the Powers went so far as to declare war. In the meanwhile an Inter-American Defence Board, on which all of the American states were represented, had been constituted (1942).

**Pantelleria:** A small island of 30 square miles with a population of about 9,000, lying between Sicily and Tunisia in the so-called Sicilian Narrows. It is 60 miles from Sicily and 46 from Cape Bon in Tunisia. The island, which is a part of the Italian kingdom, was strongly fortified under the Fascist régime and not only helped to control the passage of ships along the Mediterranean, but was also

to some extent a threat to Malta and French North Africa. The island was taken after intense bombardment by British forces in June 1943. It is fertile, but lacking in fresh water.

**Papua:** The south-eastern portion of the large island of New Guinea, in the Pacific, north of Australia. Its area is about 90,540 square miles and its population (1939) about 300,000. The greater part of the native population is very backward, judged by European standards. The population consists of natives with the exception of less than 2,000 Europeans. Papua and also the later German New Guinea were annexed by Queensland in 1883 in order to avoid their falling into other hands, but this action was repudiated by the Home Government. In the following year, nevertheless, a protectorate over the present Papua was proclaimed, and in 1888 it was annexed as a Crown colony. In 1901 the Government of Australia took control of the colony, which has since been administered by a Governor, assisted by nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. The principal products of Papua are coco-nuts, rubber, and sago. Gold, silver, osmiridium, and copper are mined there. Port Moresby, the principal port, opposite Northern Australia, is also a place of call for an air-mail service.

**Permanent Court of International Justice:** This court was set up by an international agreement concluded at Geneva on 16 December 1920, to which practically every Power subsequently acceded. The Court sat at The Hague and consisted of fifteen judges, of whom at least nine had to be present at every hearing. The judges were elected by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations and had to be qualified for the highest judicial offices in their own countries or be jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law. No two of the judges might be of the same nationality. Only states, whether members of the League or not, not individuals, could be parties to cases before the Court. Any case referred to it by a state could be heard. Under the 'Optional Clause' states were at liberty to make the jurisdiction of the Court compulsory. In the case of litigation between two states that had adopted this clause

the decision of the Court had to be accepted in all questions of international law, including the interpretation of treaties, and penalties had to be paid for the breach of an international obligation.

The statute of the new International Court of Justice established by the San Francisco Charter (q.v.) as the principal organ of the United Nations follows in many of its provisions and in much of its phraseology the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice set up under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The new statute, like the old, is divided into three chapters—Organization of the Court, Competence of the Court, and Procedure. The seat of the Court remains at The Hague, but it may sit and exercise its functions elsewhere whenever it considers it desirable.

**Persia** (otherwise Iran): A kingdom in Central Asia, bordering on Baluchistan, Afghanistan, the Union of Soviet Republics, and Iraq, with sea-coasts on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman and on the south of the Caspian Sea. Until 1906 Persia was an absolute monarchy of the Oriental type. In that year the Shah or ruler, under pressure by his subjects, granted a constitution with representative institutions, a majlis or national assembly. A new shah succeeded to the throne in 1907, and he almost immediately took steps to suppress this constitution. In the civil war that followed the Shah's forces were defeated, and in July 1909 he was dethroned, his son, a boy of thirteen, succeeding him.

Persia had for many years been an object of diplomatic contest between Britain and Russia, and the country had been divided in 1907 into a Russian sphere of influence in the north and a British one in the south, with a neutral zone in Central Persia. In the Persian Gulf British interests were to be paramount. The following ten years were a period of continual encroachments by the Russians, which were bitterly resented by the Persians, who were helpless, and who were only less suspicious of the British than of their partners in the Anglo-Russian Agreement. By the outbreak of war in 1914 Russian influence was almost supreme in Persia.

Although the state was neutral the combatants gave little heed to this neutrality and Persia was for some time a battleground between Russian and Turk with British armies close at hand. By the end of the war both Russia and Turkey had departed temporarily from the international scene of which Britain alone was in occupation. A convention between Britain and Persia was signed on 19 August 1919. By this convention Britain reiterated her previous undertakings to respect the integrity and independence of Persia and to provide money and expert advisers in order to enable the Persian Government to place their country on its feet. In February 1921 a treaty between Persia and the Soviet Government of Russia was negotiated. By this the old imperialist policy of Russia was completely reversed and all the rights and concessions that Russia had acquired at the expense of Persia were cancelled. Russia, however, was given the right to advance troops into Persia, but only if an armed attack on Russia was threatened. A revolution followed in Persia and then a period of disorder after which Riza Khan Pahlavi, who had been a trooper in the Persian Cossack division, came to the fore. He became almost at once the effective ruler of Persia, and within four and a half years he was Shah. Under Riza Khan the position of Persia rose, and it was again for a time in the full sense a sovereign independent state.

Riza Khan, although immediately on his accession he denounced the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, claimed to be friendly disposed towards the British. The actions of the Persian Government were, however, less so than they might have been. Anti-British and also anti-Russian feeling quickly developed. For twenty years this state of affairs continued, but in 1941, after the war with Germany had been raging for nearly two years, Russia and Britain, having grown impatient at the encouragement in Persia of German intrigues, invaded the country. The Persian army offered no resistance. The Shah was deposed and left the country, of a considerable part of which, safeguarding the communications between the Persian Gulf and Russia, the British and Russians remained in control. Riza Khan was succeeded as

Shah by his son, the Crown Prince. Persia was invaded by the British and Russians on 25 August. Before the end of the year these two Powers had pledged themselves by treaty to respect the independence of Persia, to protect it against aggression by any other Power, and to safeguard its interests at the coming Peace Conference. This undertaking was confirmed by the U.S.A., Britain, and Russia in December 1943, when President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin held a conference in Tehran. The three Powers at the same time undertook to give whatever economic assistance was available to Persia in return for the services rendered in the course of the war, and on its termination to give full consideration to the economic needs of the country.

The three Powers had given an undertaking to evacuate Persia within six months of the end of the war, and when that event had occurred and no steps in the direction of evacuation were seen to be taken, the Persians became restive and suspicious. These suspicions were increased by the actions of the Russians in the rich Persian province of Azerbaijan (q.v.) in the north-west, where they had taken complete control of the administration, pushing aside all Persian elements, except the *Tudeh*, originally a small patriotic party, partly Communist, that had suffered severely at the hands of the régime that the Allies had dismissed, but had become, under Russian patronage and support, a party or body of a very different character, a ready instrument for pushing Russian policy. It was later renamed the 'Democratic Party'. After some negotiations between the Powers a renewed undertaking was given to evacuate all Persian territory by the end of March 1946. The United States at once took steps to carry out this undertaking and Britain also made a movement in the same direction. Russia, however, gave increased support to the rebels in Azerbaijan, at the same time encouraging the neighbouring Kurds, who were also Persian subjects, to follow their example. When the Persian Government sent troops to restore order the Soviet authorities refused them entry into the province. As a consequence the rebels, with tacit Russian support, secured control over the whole province and set up an

'Azerbaijan National Government' which, while proclaiming its loyalty to the Persian state, in effect declared its independence of it.

The Russians, however, remained static, renewing at intervals the promise to evacuate the country, but finding always occasion not to take any steps in that direction. The Persian Government appealed to Britain and the United States, and their governments made representations to that of Russia, calling attention to the joint undertaking not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country and to withdraw their troops as speedily as possible. Meanwhile the Persian Government was making continued representations to that of Russia, complaining of the encouragement and assistance given to the rebels, the hindrances put in the way of the Persian troops and further, the apparent encouragement being given to the Kurds of Persia also to rebel against their Government. The Soviet Government in reply reiterated its intention to respect the independence of Persia.

The Persian Government, losing patience at last, appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. The Soviet Government in reply claimed the authority of the Treaty of 1921 (see above) for its continued presence on Persian soil, although it could not show that there was any possible threat of invasion of Soviet territory from a Persian base. In the meanwhile the Persian Government resigned and was replaced by one believed to be more amenable to Russian influence. By this Government conversations with Russia were initiated, but it would not withdraw the application that had been made by its predecessor to the Security Council. This application led to what threatened to become a serious conflict between Russia and her two principal allies in the recent war. The dispute came in due course before the Security Council, despite persistent efforts by the Soviet representative and pressure by his Government on Persia. In the meanwhile negotiations between Russia and Persia were reopened. In the end Russian troops were withdrawn in return for an oil concession, and Persia granted a measure of local autonomy to Azerbaijan.

The area of Persia is about 628,000 square miles, and its population amounts to about fifteen millions, with the exception of about 100,000 Armenians and Jews, all Moslems of the Shiah rite. Persia is rich in oil, in which British finance is largely interested. It produces also wheat, barley, and rice. After petroleum and its products the principal item of export is wool carpets, especially to North America.

See also Iran, Anglo-Soviet Treaty with.

**Petroleum:** 284,513,000 tons of crude petroleum and shale oil were produced in all countries in 1939. Of this total about 60·3 per cent belongs to the United States of America, 10·6 per cent to the U.S.S.R., 10·3 per cent to Venezuela, 3·8 per cent to Persia, 2·7 per cent to the Netherlands Indies, 2·4 per cent to Rumania, and about the same amount to Mexico. Other producers of appreciable quantities were Iraq, Colombia, Trinidad, the Argentine, Peru, Burma, the Bahrein Islands, Canada, and British Borneo. Of shale oil, Estonia produced almost a half and Great Britain slightly less.

**Philadelphia Charter, The:** A declaration adopted by the conference of the International Labour Office which met at Philadelphia on 10 May 1944. It affirmed the right of all human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, and of economic security and equal opportunity.

**Philippines, The:** This group of islands in the Pacific Ocean, not far from Melanesia, forms a commonwealth under United States protection. The islands spread from Formosa to Borneo and the Moluccas. They were ceded to the United States by Spain at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, in December 1898. The Commonwealth is governed by a dual instrument, signed on behalf of both parties in 1934, by the Philippine representative after a plebiscite that approved it by an overwhelming majority. Under this instrument a constitution drafted by a Filipino Constitutional Convention was enacted and at the same time the relations between the United States and the Commonwealth were defined for a period of ten years. These included free

admission to the United States to a limited extent of Philippine products. The Republic of the Philippines was formally inaugurated in November 1935. On 4 July 1946 the Commonwealth is to become a sovereign independent state, but the United States is to retain certain naval stations. In the meanwhile the local government under a President and Vice-President has wide powers. This conclusion, so far as the United States was concerned, was mainly reached through the advocacy of influential American industrialists who were determined to hamper, if possible destroy, Philippine competition in certain products, by removing the advantage they enjoyed from inclusion in the American Customs Union. The war, however, accelerated this procedure. In 1943 President Roosevelt announced that independence would be granted as soon as the islands were reconquered from the Japanese, even in advance of 1946. Nevertheless, a pro-Japanese movement in the islands continued. To counter this, Congress authorized the President of the United States to proclaim the independence of the Philippines 'as soon as possible' and to take safeguards for that independence and for the economic security of the islands and steps for their rehabilitation after the conclusion of the war.

On the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan in December 1941, the Japanese immediately invaded the Philippines and overran the whole of the archipelago in the course of a few months. The principal products of the islands are rice, manila hemp, copra, sugar-cane, corn, and tobacco. The population at the end of 1939 was about 16,300,000.

**Phosphates:** 13,600,000 tons of natural phosphates were produced in the year 1938. Of these 28·1 per cent were produced in the U.S.S.R., 27·6 per cent in the U.S.A., 14·3 per cent in Tunisia, 10·2 per cent in French Morocco, and 6 per cent in Nauru.

**Platinum:** This metal is used in the production of nitric acid for explosives, for fire-control apparatus, for many precision instruments, for fuses, and for a great number of chemical processes of primary importance to the war industries. Canada, which started to produce platinum as a



by-product of the Sudbury nickel mines in 1928, supplies more than half of the total world output, which amounts to about 650,000 ounces per year. Russia, formerly the leading source of supply, produces just under 20 per cent. The United States and South Africa are responsible for roughly 10 per cent each, while the remainder comes from Colombia, Belgian Congo, Abyssinia, and some British oversea areas. In addition to new production, which is rising substantially in connexion with the intensified Canadian nickel developments, there is a substantial supply of secondary platinum in the United States.

**Plebiscite:** A direct vote by the whole of the electorate of a state to decide for or against an amendment of the constitution, the adoption or rejection of other legislation or attachment to or detachment from another state. In international affairs, the term is employed in the last-mentioned sense. The plebiscite was used in a number of instances by the Peace Conference of Paris of 1919 to ascertain the wishes of the population of regions in dispute between the several Powers of Europe. The most recent occasion was in 1933 to ascertain whether the inhabitants of the Saar District (q.v.) wished to be reattached to Germany, to be annexed by France, or to remain apart from both states.

**Pogrom:** A Russian word, originally meaning destruction, devastation, desolation, which is used to denote a Government-inspired or organized attack on a Jewish community, accompanied by bloodshed, looting, and destruction. The term came first into use in 1881, on the occasion of the widespread attacks on Jewries in Russia that commenced in that year.

**Poland:** The history of the Polish state goes back to the tenth century. Later, for a time, it was one of the larger states of Europe, the greatest of the East. Three times at the end of the eighteenth century, in 1772, 1793, and 1795, Poland suffered from the attacks of its neighbours, Russia, Prussia, and the Empire. On all three occasions it lost territory to all three of them, and on the last the remnant to which the state had been reduced was shared by the three hungry Powers. This was the end of the Polish sovereign

independent state. In 1807 Napoleon reconstituted a Polish state—the Duchy of Warsaw—under French protection, but this work was undone by the victorious Powers at the Congress of Vienna of 1815. One small district, however, that of Cracow, was left as an independent republic. In 1848 this was annexed by Austria, despite the guarantee that Prussia, Austria, and Russia had given to preserve its neutrality. In these successive partitions by far the greater part of Poland went to Russia. The Austrian share was next in size. Prussia came third. The Poles did not settle down easily under their new masters. Those who passed under the Russian yoke enjoyed less liberty than their less unfortunate brethren. There was a Polish rising against Russia in 1830 which was suppressed after ten months of fighting. One result was the loss by the Poles of the few rights they possessed in the Russian Empire. Thirty-three years later, in 1863, there was another Polish rising, the opportunity being given by a relaxation of the oppression by the ‘liberal’ Tsar, Alexander II. This rising was in every respect weaker than its predecessor and was far more easily suppressed.

For the next half-century Poland remained a part of Russia, but the Polish national spirit still glowed and seemingly awaited only another opportunity to burst forth. This was true of Russian Poland. In Austrian Poland the population was quite contented and in Prussian Poland almost equally so. The opportunity came with the outbreak of war in 1914 immediately on which Pilsudski, a Russian Pole, raised Polish regiments of volunteers from among his fellow-Poles of Russia and fought by the side of the Germans. Russian Poland was soon occupied by the Germans and Austrians, who were not ejected until the end of the war in 1918. By the German and Austrian Emperors the independence of Poland was proclaimed on 5 November 1916, and some steps were taken towards the creation of a constitution, but these were never completed. Out of the provisional organization created by the Germans and Austrians, the independent Polish state, which was proclaimed on 9 November 1918, however, developed and the independence of Poland was recognized by all the Powers under the Treaty

of Versailles in 1919. The new Poland included not only the Polish parts of Russia, but also those parts of the former Poland that Prussia and Austria had annexed. To give the new state access to the sea a corridor and a short sea-coast on the Baltic were given at the expense of Germany, although the population of the region through which the corridor passed was by no means mainly Polish. Incidentally, this corridor cut the remnant of East Prussia that remained to Germany from the remainder of that state. The boundaries given to Poland included within her confines a population 80 per cent of which was non-Polish. The non-Polish elements included  $3\frac{1}{4}$  million Ukrainians,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million Ruthenians, almost a million White Ruthenians,  $\frac{3}{4}$  million Germans, and 189,000 Russians, in addition to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  million Yiddish-speaking Jews and 878,000 inhabitants who spoke other languages. Early in its history Poland seized the neighbouring district which included Vilna (q.v.), the capital of Lithuania. It was also soon involved in war with Soviet Russia, and throughout its history it suffered from political and economic crises. Incidentally, by refusing to carry out its obligations to its National Minorities (q.v.), which had been a condition of the recognition of its independence, it weakened the legal basis of its existence.

On 1 September 1939, almost exactly twenty-one years after the proclamation of the independence of the Polish state, Germany suddenly invaded its territories. A fortnight later Russian troops entered from the east. Polish resistance lasted but a few weeks, and Poland was again partitioned—between Germany and Russia. The German share fell into two parts. The western portion was annexed outright: the eastern portion was designated a *General-Gouvernement*, in which, however, German rule was equally supreme. Eastern Poland, largely inhabited by White Russians and Ukrainians, was annexed by Russia. The Polish Government escaped to Rumania, where it was interned and a new government in exile was formed in France. This was recognized by the Allies as the legitimate Government of Poland. By this Government treaties of close alliance were negotiated with Russia and Czechoslovakia.

The treaty with Russia was suddenly denounced by the Union of Soviet Republics on 25 April 1943. The official motive was the step taken by the Polish Government in exile in asking the International Red Cross to investigate the German accusations that the Soviet Government had murdered Polish officer-prisoners on a wholesale scale. This was regarded as evidence that the Polish Government had entered into contact and agreement with Hitler. There were, however, other reasons for the breach, one of the consequences of which was the creation of a Free Polish Movement in Russia under Soviet encouragement and auspices.

Germany's scheme for the partition of Poland was soon abandoned, especially after the German attack on Russia of 1941. Attempts to find Poles to co-operate in the government of the country under German direction proved vain. More and more Polish territory was incorporated in the Reich. The Germans had reannexed at once those parts of Poland which had been German before. To these was soon added a belt of territory from 20 to 60 miles wide, reaching almost to the suburbs of Warsaw. Roughly one-third of Poland, and that the richest and most highly developed, was absorbed into the Reich. The remnant of the country, the *General-Gouvernement*, was left to be governed after the manner of a colony. The Germans called it a German *Nebenland*, or 'adjunct' of Germany—not German soil, but land at Germany's disposal.

In the incorporated territories the Nazis began by appropriating to the German state every form of property, public or private. The dispossessed Poles were driven over the frontier into the *General-Gouvernement* to shift for themselves. In the industrial areas the workpeople were provisionally allowed to stay. In the country the labourers on the big estates were retained to work for German masters. In this way a million and a half Poles were eliminated. About half of them went to the *General-Gouvernement*; the remainder, farmers and working-class people, were drafted into Germany to work for the Reich.

The Polish schools were suppressed. Exemption from military duty did not last long. By 1941 Poles were being

recruited for the auxiliary services. By 1942 they were being taken for the army. Most of the *General-Gouvernement* consists of poor soil. Into this the remnant of the Polish nation after the Nazis had taken what they needed for their labour corps, was crowded miserably.

After 1942 there was a new modification of Nazi policy. Originally the *General-Gouvernement* had been designed as a sort of buffer between Germany and Russia. It belonged to the *Land des Ostens*, a vaguely indicated region embracing the Baltic seaboard and the Ukraine which the Nazis planned to penetrate and control. Since the autumn of 1942 it was clearly marked for eventual incorporation in the Reich. A beginning was made with the settlement of Germans along its eastern border. In order to make room for them the Poles were evicted.

The breach between Russia and Poland of April 1943 rapidly widened. Russia repeatedly denounced the Polish Government in London and stated its inability to have dealings with any government acting under the 'totalitarian' Polish constitution of April 1935, which was still in force. On the invasion of Poland beyond the Curzon Line (q.v.) it set up a provisional government (the National Council of Poland) in Lublin, one in close collaboration with the Free Polish Movement in Russia. At the same time an army formed out of Polish elements in Russia was set up, owing allegiance to the new provisional government, but fighting as a unit in the armies of the Union of Soviet Republics. The Soviet Government entered into a formal agreement with the Polish Committee of National Liberation, the organ of the National Council of Poland, in July 1944, recognizing it as the provisional government of Poland and regulating the relations between it and the Soviet Commander-in-Chief. The National Council accepted the Curzon Line as the eastern frontier of Poland, and the Russian Government, with the apparent agreement of the British, suggested that the Polish Government might compensate itself by annexing East Prussia and other German territory.

Attempts to reconcile the two Polish Governments failed. The subject was discussed at the Yalta Conference (q.v.) and

it was there decided that an exception should be made to the understanding that no transfers of territory should be made except at a Peace Conference to be held later, and that the Western frontier demanded by Russia, the Curzon Line, should be agreed to forthwith, Poland to be granted in compensation a wide expanse of German territory, the extent of which was to be decided at the Peace Conference. On the subject of the rival claims of the two Governments of Poland 'The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should . . . be recognized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad'. An agreed interpretation of this latter decision, however, proved for a time impossible. President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill held that it meant the formation of an entirely new government, drawing its members from Poland and abroad: in Marshal Stalin's view the intention was to enlarge the existing Provisional Government in Poland by the addition of a few other members. The Provisional Government had already been recognized by Russia and Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, her client states; but the other two principal Allies continued to grant recognition to the Polish Government in exile which in any event declined to accept the proposed terms of settlement. Russia also speedily concluded a twenty-year pact of mutual assistance with the Government that it recognized. In the absence of agreement, Poland, although one of the United Nations, was not represented at the San Francisco Conference (q.v.). The deadlock was finally broken by the adoption of the Russian contentions in all their essentials. A reconstructed Government in Warsaw, with a close resemblance to its predecessor there, was recognized by all three principal Powers and all recognition withdrawn from that in London. A further agreement was reached at the Potsdam Conference (q.v.). Despite Russian pressure, the other two Powers would not agree to the immediate annexation by Poland of the German territories she coveted—Germany as far west as the line of the Rivers Oder and Neisse—but she was to be permitted to occupy and administer them. This was in effect merely the recognition of a *fait accompli*, for the

Poles had already entered into occupation and were expelling the German population to make room for Polish settlers. The three Powers, at the same time, recorded the promise of the Polish Government to the holding of 'free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot, in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates and that representatives of the Allied press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world'.

The estimated population of Poland in December 1938 was 35,090,000. Of this population only 68·9 per cent spoke Polish, 10·1 per cent spoke Ukrainian, 8·6 per cent Yiddish or Hebrew, 3·8 per cent Ruthenian, 3·1 per cent White Ruthenian, 2·3 per cent German, and 3·2 per cent Russian or other languages. Poland is essentially an agricultural country, producing cereals, potatoes, and sugar-beet on a large scale. Other agricultural products are flax, hemp, hops, and timber. There are also large numbers of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats. Its mines and wells produce coal, iron ore, salt, natural gas, potash, and petroleum. Its principal industries are iron, steel, textiles, saw-mills, sugar- and oil-refining.

See also Soviet-Polish Pact; Silesia; Pomerania; Prussia, East; Brandenburg; Polish Frontiers, The.

**Polish Corridor:** see Corridor.

**Polish-Czech Declaration:** Joint Declaration made by the Polish and Czechoslovakian Governments in exile on 11 November 1941, whereby the two Governments announced their intention, after the conclusion of the war, 'to enter as independent and sovereign states into a closer political and economic association, which would become the basis for a new order in Central Europe and a guarantee of its stability'. Later, on 23 January 1942, an agreement for a Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation was signed in London. This confederation was stated to be open to 'other states of the European area with which the vital interests of Poland and Czechoslovakia are linked up'. The purpose of the Confederation is to assure common policy with regard to foreign affairs, defence, economic and financial matters, social

questions, transport, posts and telegraphs. The constitutions of the individual states included in the confederation will guarantee to the citizens of these states freedom of conscience, personal freedom, freedom of learning, freedom of the spoken and written word, freedom of organization and association, equality of all citizens before the law, free admission of all citizens to the performance of all state functions, the independence of the courts of law, and the control of government by representative national bodies elected by means of free elections.

**Polish Frontiers, The:** On the overrunning of Poland in the last stage of the war with Germany, Russia fixed the western frontier of the Union of Soviet Republics with Poland at the Curzon Line (q.v.). In addition, of East Prussia (q.v.) Russia claimed and took the capital Königsberg (q.v.) and the north-eastern corner. As compensation Russia and Britain agreed to Poland making the line of the Lower Oder and Neisse rivers her western frontier, thus annexing the remainder of East Prussia, most of Pomerania (q.v.), part of Brandenburg (q.v.), and most of Silesia (q.v.). Mr. Churchill, however, after leaving office, protested against the extent of these annexations. Provisionally the three principal Allies permitted Poland to occupy these regions. In 1939 Poland's territory covered an area of 150,432 square miles: she has now 120,782 square miles, if these provisional frontiers are accepted. Almost half of her pre-war territory (about 69,000 square miles), with one-third of her population (over 10,000,000), went to Russia. The new territories in the west compensate for this loss with about 42,000 square miles. With the Curzon line as eastern frontier and the Oder and Neisse line in the west, Poland's territory is about four-fifths of what it was in 1939, and her population has decreased from about 35,000,000 to between 23,000,000 and 25,000,000. M. Bierut, the head of the Provisional Government, valued the land up to the Oder at £2,250,000,000 and, according to his estimate, Poland lost, in the east, land valued at £900,000,000.

**Pomerania:** A province of Prussia, on the Baltic, lying between Poland and Mecklenburg. Its area is 11,661 square



miles, and its population (1925) 1,920,196. Stettin (q.v.) with a population of 268,915 (1939) is its capital and the third most important port of Germany. Another port is Stralsund. Greifswald is the seat of a famous university. Pomerania is largely agricultural, but there are some manufactures such as shipbuilding, machinery, chemicals, and sugar. Pomerania was one of the original homes of the German tribes, but was occupied by Slavs in the fifth century. Since 1170 it has been a part of the German Empire. For some time it was conquered and held by the Swedes, but they were forced out in 1720, the region reverting to the Empire and later passing to Prussia. In the course of the war of 1939 to 1945 Pomerania was occupied by the armies of Russia. On the submission of Germany the greater part of the province was placed under Polish administration, the new masters having already claimed its annexation to Poland.

**Popular Front:** Co-operation of the Left-Wing or Left-Centre parties of a state in opposition to the growing Fascist movement, in the years preceding the outbreak of war in 1939. The Popular Front Government in Spain was destroyed by the revolt of General Franco with the assistance of the Fascist Governments of Germany and Italy. In France, there was a Popular Front Government under M. Léon Blum at the same time.

**Portuguese Colonies:** The Portuguese Colonial Empire, apart from the Azores and Madeira, which are integral parts of Portugal, covers 803,638 square miles. The colonies consist of, in Africa, Cape Verde Islands (1,557 square miles; pop. 1939, 170,000, Guinea (13,944 square miles, pop. 420,000), San Tomé and Príncipe Islands (384 square miles, pop. 60,000), Angola (481,226 square miles, pop. 3½ millions), Mozambique (q.v.) (297,654 square miles, pop. 4½ millions); in Asia, Portuguese India (1,537 square miles, pop. 600,000), Macao (q.v.) (6 square miles, pop. 200,000); and in Oceania, Timor (q.v.) (7,330 square miles, pop. 480,000).

These colonies are all under Governors and enjoy financial and administrative autonomy, but their Budgets have to be approved by the Minister for the Colonies in Lisbon. They are all to a large extent undeveloped, although rich in mineral

and agricultural resources, nor is there any appreciable European influence on the natives except in a few small centres.

The Cape Verde Islands, which number ten, in addition to five islets, and lie close to the west coast of North Africa, a short distance north of Guinea, were discovered in 1456, and occupied by Portugal. The islands were at that time uninhabited and had to be populated with slaves captured on the African coast. São Vicente is a coaling station at which all vessels for South America call. The chief products are sisal, castor oil, coffee, mustard, brandy, oranges, and hides.

The Portuguese settlement in Guinea dates from 1669, although the district had been discovered by Portuguese navigators more than two centuries earlier. Two hundred years later Britain claimed part of the territory, but the claim was disallowed by the arbitrator. Guinea produces rice, wax, oil, seeds, and hides.

The islands of San Tomé and Príncipe, which are in the Gulf of Guinea about 125 miles from the African coast, were discovered by Portuguese navigators in 1471. Their principal products are cocoa, coffee, copra, palm oil, and cinchona.

Angola or Portuguese West Africa stretches from the Belgian Congo on the north to South-west Africa on the south, with a coast-line of over a thousand miles. The first discoveries in the region were made by Portuguese mariners in 1482, and the first Portuguese settlement dates from nine years later. Loanda, the capital, was founded in 1575. The administration rests with a Governor-General, appointed from Lisbon. The principal exports are coffee, maize, diamonds, sugar, wax, and coco-nut. Copper and lignite also exist, but are not mined. Angola is connected by rail with the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia.

Portuguese India consists of the district of Goa and a few other small scattered districts and islands. The first Portuguese trading stations in India were established at Cochin and Calicut in 1501. Nine years later the Portuguese conquered Goa, which became one of the most valuable of the

Portuguese colonies. It was the capital of the whole Portuguese empire of the East. The importance of Goa has, however, long since passed. For a time it seemed that Portugal would be the paramount European Power in India. The issue was decided early in the seventeenth century, and when the English took Ormuz in 1622, the sun of Portugal in Asia had set and that of Britain had risen. Manganese is mined in the colony and salt refined.

**Postal Union, International:** An international organ of co-operation between the postal services of all countries, with a few insignificant exceptions. It was founded at Berne in 1874 and international postal congresses are held at intervals. The inception of the Union was due mainly to Dr. von Stephan, the Prussian Director-General of Posts.

**Potash:** The world production of potash in 1938 was 3,196,000 tons, of which 1,968,000 were produced in Germany, 582,000 in France, 288,000 in the U.S.A., 220,000 in the U.S.S.R., and 108,000 in Poland.

**Potsdam Conference:** A conference between President Truman, Marshal Stalin, and Mr. Winston Churchill, whose place was taken later by his successor as Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, held at Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. The principal decisions of the Conference were that supreme authority in Germany will remain with the Allied Control Council in Berlin, that Germany will be completely disarmed and demilitarized and all German war industries eliminated or controlled. No central German Government will be established for some time. Political parties will be allowed, but the electoral system will be only gradually developed. Industrial cartels and monopolies will be eradicated. The Allies will control Germany as an economic whole. The reparations claims of the U.S.S.R. and Poland will be met mainly by industrial removals ('industrial capital equipment unnecessary for the German peace economy') from the Soviet zone of occupation. The claims of the other allies will be met from the western zones. All removals will be completed within two years. Of the total value of reparations more than half shall go to Russia and Poland and less than a quarter each to Great Britain and the United States. Königsberg

(q.v.) and the north-eastern triangle of East Prussia (q.v.) were allotted to Russia. To Poland was entrusted the administration of the remainder of East Prussia and all German territory to the east of the Oder-Neisse line. The expulsion of the German population from the territories to be annexed was accepted. France and China were invited to join a Five-Power Council of Foreign Ministers which would normally meet in London. This Council would draw up treaties of peace with Italy and later with ex-satellite countries in eastern Europe. Peace would not be made with Germany until a central German Government is established. Governments that were neutral during the war, except the Franco régime in Spain, were made eligible to join the United Nations Organization. Later grave differences of opinion arose between the Western Powers and Russia on the interpretation of these decisions.

See also Poland.

**Prometheus:** A movement, first established in Paris in 1928 by emigrés, who agitated for the independence of a Greater Georgia, a Greater Armenia, and the Ukraine. The movement was at first encouraged by the Germans, but after the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia, with the prospect of German success, the patronage of the advocates of sovereign independence came to an end.

**Protection:** see Free Trade.

**Prussia, East:** A province of Prussia and the cradle of the kingdom, on the extreme east of the German Empire and separated from the remainder of it, by the Treaty of Versailles (q.v.), by Polish territory and the Free State of Danzig (q.v.). It was then recognized that on the grounds of history and population Poland could have no claim to East Prussia. Memel (q.v.) at the extreme north-east corner, was at the same time detached and held by the League of Nations until it was seized by Lithuania. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the population of East Prussia is of German origin. In addition there are, or were, above 400,000 Protestants of Slav origin and 175,000 Lithuanians, mostly in the Memel district. The principal towns are Königsberg (q.v.) and Memel (q.v.). In the discussions

regarding territorial annexations that were held towards the end of the war of 1939 to 1945 Russia, having taken Königsberg and the north-eastern corner of East Prussia, suggested that Poland should compensate herself, for the parts of Poland that Russia intended to annex, at German expense, East Prussia being among the provinces indicated. In this Mr. Churchill, on behalf of the British Government, acquiesced. At the first opportunity Poland occupied East Prussia and the other provinces and began to drive out the German inhabitants.

See also Polish Frontiers.

**Pyrites:** Iron, copper, and sulphur are obtained from pyrites. Pyrites are also used for the production of sulphuric acid. In the year 1936, 8,310,000 tons of pyrites were mined. Of these, 22·1 per cent were obtained in Spain, 19·3 in Japan, 11·4 in Norway, 9·5 in Italy, 6·1 in the U.S.A., 5·9 in Cyprus, 5·5 in the U.S.S.R., and 4·1 in Finland. The production in 1938 was 11,478,000 tons.

**Quicksilver:** The world production of quicksilver, apart from the U.S.S.R., in 1938 was 5,100 tons. Of this, 45·1 per cent came from Italy, 29·6 from Spain, and 11·6 from the U.S.A. It was estimated that the production of the U.S.S.R. in that year was about 5·5 per cent.

**Radium:** Radium is a substance of considerable importance in scientific and medical use. It was discovered as recently as 1898 by Pierre and Marie Curie and G. Bémont. It is valuable in the treatment of cancer. It always exists in conjunction with Uranium (q.v.) whose sources it shares. A very rare product, 7821 milligrammes only were produced in the U.S.A. in 1938 and 75 grammes in Canada.

**Rapallo, Treaty of:** An agreement between Russia and Germany, made at Rapallo on 16 April 1922, whereby both Powers renounced all financial claims, including war indemnities arising out of the then recent war, between the two states. Diplomatic and consular relations were resumed, and the principle of the Most Favoured Nation Clause (q.v.) in their commercial relations adopted. The negotiations that led to the treaty were conducted in secret, but as soon as it was initialled it was published. It created consternation

among the other Great Powers that were meeting at the time at Genoa in the hope of arranging a treaty on similar lines for all the Powers of Europe.

**Rayon:** 450,950 tons of rayon or artificial silk were manufactured in 1938. Of these, 25·9 per cent were produced in the U.S.A., 21·4 in Japan, 14·4 in Germany, 10·7 in the United Kingdom, 10·2 in Italy, and 6·2 in France.

**Red Cross, International:** see Geneva Convention.

**Regional Pacts:** Agreements between states, as a rule situated in proximity to one another, to act jointly for certain purposes, especially in relation to other specified Powers and in the event of a threat of aggression by those Powers. Instances of such pacts are the American States, the Arab States, Russia and the smaller Powers in Eastern Europe under her influence, and also Russia and France between whom defensive alliance has been made. Earlier such Regional Pacts were the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy; 1883–1915), the Balkan Pact (q.v.), the Baltic Pact (q.v.), and the Little Entente (q.v.). See also San Francisco Conference.

**Reparations:** The indemnities payable to the victorious Powers by the defeated ones, under the Versailles and other treaties, by which the World War of 1914 to 1918 was ended. Since, under the terms of the Armistices indemnities were not to be imposed, Reparations were explained as intended only to make good the damage suffered by non-combatant subjects of the Allied Powers. The treaties did not themselves assess the total of this damage. A Reparations Commission was set up for this purpose. There were several problems involved. Not only was the total sum to be assessed and divided among the several ex-enemy states. The extent to which states were in a position to pay the sums debited to them had to be ascertained. Finally the distribution of whatever sums were obtained among the several claimant Powers had to be decided.

It was very soon realized that it was possible to obtain payments only from Germany. The other enemy Powers were quite incapable of making any payment, immediate or prospective. It was early agreed that payments in kind

should be accepted to a limited extent, and at the Spa Conference (July 1920) the Allied Powers agreed to a distribution according to a ratio of 52 per cent to France, 22 per cent to the British Empire, 10 per cent to Italy, 8 per cent to Belgium,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to Japan and Portugal, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to the other Allies. The first 2,000 million gold marks to be received were to go to Belgium. Shortly afterwards the total claim against Germany was presented. The total was assessed at 225 milliard gold marks (£11,600 millions), and in January 1921 the Allies agreed among themselves that this sum should be paid in forty-two annuities rising from 2 to 6 milliard gold marks. The Reparations Commission total was somewhat less, £6,600 millions. The difference between the two totals was of no consequence, for it was obvious that even the smaller was far beyond Germany's capacity. The first half-yearly instalment was nevertheless actually paid, but this practically exhausted Germany's available resources, and in January 1922 a short-termed moratorium had to be granted. This was extended from time to time, but always with threats of invasion and of the financial administration of Germany if she did not speedily resume payment. In all these negotiations France took the lead in endeavouring to force Germany to meet the demands made on her. Britain was far more accommodating. The question of Reparations, moreover, came to be linked with that of Inter-Allied Debts (q.v.).

The continued failure of Germany to meet the demands made on her led to a French occupation of the Ruhr, Germany's most valuable industrial district, early in 1922. This occupation was effected against the wishes of Britain, who did not conceal her strong objection. In the meanwhile Germany's financial and economic structure began to disintegrate. To deal with this very serious state of affairs, at the suggestion of the Government of the U.S.A., the Dawes Committee, under an American chairman and with members drawn from all of the creditor countries, was appointed. This Committee put politics aside and dealt with the questions referred to it solely from the economic point of view. The Report of the Dawes Committee, apart from technical

recommendations of great importance, advocated an international loan of 800 million gold marks to stabilize the German currency and to enable Germany to make the first year's payment of Reparations under a new scheme. A certain amount of foreign control over Germany's finances was to be instituted. To provide funds for future Reparations there were to be mortgages on the German railways and industries, special taxes and further loans. With regard to the future payments, great care, it was recommended, should be taken so that they did not imperil Germany's economic stability, and, to ensure this, a sort of sliding scale was adopted. The Report was very favourably received and adopted by the Governments concerned. For a few years the new scheme worked admirably and the Reparations Commission was able to report that 'Germany is faithfully fulfilling her reparation obligations'. However, an industrial crisis soon developed in Germany, and by the end of 1925 grave internal difficulties arose. Moreover, the necessity of exports from Germany to provide for the payments she had to make reacted, as time passed, unfavourably on the economic position of the creditor countries.

The Dawes Plan did not settle the total sum Germany would have to pay, nor the duration of the series of payments. It fixed only the first few annuities at a reasonable figure, leaving the more permanent questions to be settled later. This settlement was left to a small commission, the Young Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Owen D. Young, an American economist. Under the Young Plan the size of the annuities which had begun to prove too great a strain on the German finances was reduced. Under the Young Plan payments by Germany for the first thirty-seven years were to average £101 millions and for the following twenty-two, £85,700,000. The Reparations Commission was to be superseded by a Bank for International Settlements (q.v.), under the joint control of the several Great Powers, including Germany. But as the economic situation deteriorated Germany was unable to make even these reduced payments. In 1931 she was unable to transfer any large sum abroad, and in the following year a new and far less burdensome



arrangement (the Lausanne Agreement) was made. The Allied Powers, however, refused to ratify this agreement unless the Government of the U.S.A. would correspondingly reduce its claims, arising out of the war, against them. This the American Government refused to do. In the end Germany's creditors ceased to make any payments to the U.S.A. or to obtain any from Germany. Great Britain, although her debt to the U.S.A. fell considerably below the total of the indebtedness to her of her Allies in the war, together with her share of German Reparations, was prepared to cancel the total amount of indebtedness, provided, of course, that she was released by the U.S.A.

**Rhineland, The:** The part of Germany that lies on both banks of the Rhine, with a population of over  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Apart from agricultural products, including sugar and tobacco, the Rhineland is the wine-producing centre of Germany. From the forests bark is obtained for tanning. The district is rich in herds, and the streams in salmon and trout. The mineral resources are very considerable: coal, lead, zinc, lignite, copper, manganese, gypsum, etc. There are also mineral springs at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) and Kreuznach. These resources are the basis of great industrial activity: iron and steel, cutlery, cloth, silk, cotton goods, dyes, glass, sugar, machinery, paper, toys, and musical instruments. The district encloses a number of large and important towns: Cologne, Coblenz, Düsseldorf, Aix-la-Chapelle, Trier, Bonn, Crefeld, Essen, Oberhausen, Duisburg, Mannheim, and Heidelberg.

The Rhineland is an integral part of Germany. The greater part of it was annexed by France in 1801, but surrendered to Prussia fourteen years later. France was always anxious to recover, at any rate, the part of the district that lies on the left bank of the Rhine, and at her instance the Treaty of Versailles (1919) provided for the occupation by Allied troops of the whole of the Rhineland for a period ranging up to fifteen years. At the end of that period the whole of the left bank and a strip along the right bank were to be demilitarized in perpetuity. The United States Government withdrew its army of occupation after a brief interval. It

was replaced by French troops. The British troops were withdrawn from their sector in November 1926. The French who remained in occupation devoted much activity to promoting an artificial movement for the permanent separation of the Rhineland from Germany and for its erection into an independent state—under French control. This movement, despite the great efforts made, found no support among the population. At one time French agents actually proclaimed a Rhineland Republic which collapsed within a few days. The Locarno Pact (q.v.) greatly eased the situation. It may be said that by now France had abandoned all designs against the integrity of the Rhineland and when Germany entered the League of Nations shortly afterwards the question of complete evacuation became actual. This evacuation was completed on 29 June 1930.

The obligation of demilitarization still remained. This was observed for some years, but after the advent of National Socialism in Germany, despite the further undertakings given in the Treaty of Locarno, Germany, in March 1936, without warning, sent troops into the Rhineland and occupied the whole district. With this step the Rhineland Question came to an end for the time being.

With the defeat of Germany and the revival of France in 1945 the question of the future of the Rhineland again became an active one. General de Gaulle and his government, without delay, formulated claims to German territory, including this region, in the West and in this had, at first, the tacit encouragement of Russia. The River Rhine, the French claimed, should be taken completely out of German control and internationalized. Later, finding a lack of sympathy with these claims on the part of the Western Powers, France modified them to the extent that International rule should take the place of French, France, however, being the *primus inter pares* among the occupying Powers, and should not be compelled to withdraw 'because of a majority vote'. See also Franco-German Frontier.

**Rhodes:** The largest of the Aegean Islands, now generally considered one of the Dodecanese (q.v.). Its area is 545 square miles, and its population in 1936 was 61,886.

**Rhodesia:** A region in south-central Africa extending north from the Transvaal to the Belgian Congo and Tanganyika and bounded on the east by Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Portuguese East Africa, and on the west by the Belgian Congo, Portuguese West Africa, and Bechuanaland. The region, which is under British administration, falls into two parts: Southern Rhodesia, south of the River Zambesi, and Northern Rhodesia, north of that river. Until October 1923 both Rhodesias were under the administration of the British South Africa Company. On 1 October of that year Responsible Government—self-government with certain limitations—was introduced into Southern Rhodesia. The legislature, however, has no influence over native administration.

On 1 April 1924 Northern Rhodesia became in effect a Crown colony under a Governor and Legislative Council of sixteen members, seven of whom are elected.

The population of Southern Rhodesia was estimated on 30 June 1940 at 1,435,560 (62,330 Europeans) and that of Northern Rhodesia, which is twice the size of its southern neighbour, on 31 December 1935, at 1,375,400 (9,900 Europeans). There has for some years been an agitation, in which Southern Rhodesia has been foremost, for the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and even for the union of the neighbouring Nyasaland with them. The resulting state, it was intended, should form a British dominion. The strongest objection to this course is taken by those who realize the responsibility of the British Government for the welfare of the native population.

The principal exports of Southern Rhodesia are gold, asbestos, tobacco, chrome, coal, meat, and hides. Northern Rhodesia exports copper, cobalt, zinc, vanadium, and tobacco.

**Rice:** The world production of rice in 1937-8, exclusive of China, was 945,000,000 quintals (4,620,500,000 bushels). Of this production, 408,302,000 quintals were grown in India, 123,087,000 in Japan, 69,979,000 in Burma, 63,085,000 in French Indo-China, 62,574,000 in the Netherlands Indies, 50,128,000 in Korea, and 45,537,000 in Thailand. The production of rice in China was estimated at about 554,500,000 quintals for that year.

**Rubber:** 910,000 tons of crude rubber were produced in 1938. Of this, 41 per cent came from British Malaya, 32·9 from the Netherlands Indies, 6·5 from Ceylon, 6·4 from French Indo-China, and 4·6 from Thailand. In 1940 the estimated output had grown to 1,411,000 tons, the principal increases being in the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya.

After the loss of Malaya and the consequent great scarcity of rubber, an experiment was made in India in the production of so-called wild rubber. Five thousand acres were sown near Delhi. The experiment proved successful. The plants which produced a good-quality rubber came to maturity within a year, compared with eight years in the case of cultured rubber-trees.

The World War of 1939 gave a great impetus to the production of synthetic rubber, which had hitherto been hardly worth while, and before its end it was estimated that the United States and Canada alone were producing about a million tons a year. With this great prospective addition to the output it was clear that when normal conditions would be restored the difficulties of marketing at an economic price would be even greater than they had been before the outbreak of war. There had previously been (since 1934) an international rubber agreement for the control of output and consequently of prices, which should have lapsed at the end of 1943, but was extended for four months at the end of which it came to an end. The International Regulation Committee succeeded in reducing by the end of 1938 world stocks in reserve to about six months' normal consumption, a success which resulted in a rubber famine when the Japanese occupation of the Dutch and British East Indies early in 1941 brought further supplies of rubber for the time being virtually to an end.

**Ruhr Basin, The:** One of the principal mining and manufacturing regions of Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine, and a centre of the Radical and Socialist forces in German political life. Before the War of 1914 and the re-annexation of Lorraine by France there were very close connexions between the industries of the two regions, the one supplementing the other. The French always coveted the Ruhr

district, although it was part of the kernel of the German lands and in 1923 seized the opportunity of Germany's inability to pay the indemnities that had been imposed on her to invade and occupy the Ruhr Basin. The district was cut off from the remainder of Germany and its principal officials and other citizens arrested. The reaction of the inhabitants of the Ruhr Basin was one of passivity, a refusal to work or to co-operate with the invaders in any way. The large population had therefore to be maintained in idleness and one of the consequences, added to other difficulties, was the economic breakdown of the German Reich. France also received no benefit, although her occupation succeeded in inflicting great harm on Germany and the province. The British and United States Governments had throughout been opposed to the French action. In the end, after two and a half years, France, realizing her mistake, gave way and brought the occupation to an end. Relations, economic as well as political, between the two Governments then improved somewhat.

After the end of the war in 1945 France put forward claims to the Ruhr Basin as well as the Rhineland (q.v.), but later, finding apparently little support outside except for a time in Russia, modified them to the extent that the Ruhr Basin should be detached from Germany and internationalized, its valuable mineral resources being shared between France and Germany and to a less extent other states, and its administration entrusted to France, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg. See also Franco-German Frontier.

**Rumania:** The Kingdom of Rumania, on the north of the lower course of the Danube, between Russia on the north, Hungary and Yugoslavia on the west, Bulgaria on the south, and the Black Sea on the east, arose out of the union in 1859 of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. These principalities were under Turkish suzerainty. After the Russo-Turkish War, the Rumanians, who had fought on the side of Russia, gained their independence (Treaty of Berlin, 13 July 1878). They at the same time obtained the greater part of the Dobrudja (q.v.) from Turkey, but had to surrender

Bessarabia (q.v.) to Russia. By the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) Rumania obtained the remainder of the Dobrudja from Bulgaria and, after the conclusion of the war of 1914 to 1918, recovered Bessarabia and the Dobrudja, which had been temporarily lost, and in addition the Bukowina, the Banat of Temesvar, and the greater part of Transylvania from Austro-Hungary. Hungary never acquiesced in these losses and for the next twenty years consistently demanded the restoration of Transylvania, which, although its inhabitants were largely of Rumanian blood, had for centuries been a part of Hungary. This was the period of Rumania's greatest expansion. The recession began after the outbreak of war in September 1939. First Russia, with the encouragement of Germany, demanded and obtained the restoration of Bessarabia and also the cession of half of the Bukowina which had never been Russian. Then Germany, anxious to obtain the support of Hungary in the war in which she was engaged, by the Award of Vienna of 30 August 1940, forced Rumania to cede to Hungary the greater part of Transylvania, and a week later to restore to Bulgaria the Southern Dobrudja. By these measures Rumania was reduced in size almost to the limits of 1912. She lost by these cessions 40,000 square miles of territory and 4 million subjects.

As the outbreak of war between Germany and the Allies approached in 1939, both parties became more intense in their endeavours to secure the active sympathy, if not support, of Rumania. That state had since the previous war been a client of France, and the Little Entente (q.v.) of which Rumania was a member was in effect a French creation. In the German aggression against Czechoslovakia, Rumania had shown herself unequivocally on the side of the victim and had objected to the Polish seizure of Teschen and the Polish-Hungarian project for the sharing of Ruthenia (q.v.). The collapse of Czechoslovakia seriously weakened the position of Rumania. Immediately after that event she was practically compelled to accept a trade agreement with Germany by which the advantage lay with the stronger Power. Trade agreements with Britain and France that followed did little to restore the balance.

In April 1939 Britain and France had jointly guaranteed the security of the Rumanian frontiers, but the successes of Germany on the battlefield had in the eyes of the Rumanians reduced the value of that guarantee which Rumania renounced in June 1940. Immediately afterwards a new Government, which was avowedly pro-German, reactionary, and intensely anti-Semitic, announced that its foreign policy would be 'the fundamental integration of Rumania with the Axis system'. This step followed immediately on a demand by Russia for the return of Bessarabia. An appeal to Germany for support brought no response, and Bessarabia had to be surrendered. This loss was followed without delay by the others that have previously been mentioned. The next step was to force the abdication of King Carol, who was considered to be too friendly disposed to Britain and France, and simultaneously Rumania passed completely under German control, exercised by a military occupation. In fact, it was not long before Rumania became a formal ally of Germany, and she contributed large armies in the war against Russia. One of the incentives in that direction was undoubtedly the hope of recovering Bessarabia and a still greater territory. In this war Hungary was an ally, and the two armies fought side by side, but the hostility to the Hungarians, though latent, was almost as intense as to the Russians, and there were frequent reports of armed clashes between the allies.

Rumania suffered very great losses in the course of the German defeats at the hands of Russia and her troops were pressed back on Rumanian territory which was also invaded, by the victorious Russian armies. As early as April 1944 Russia announced that it would respect Rumania's territorial integrity and internal independence. It was realized in Rumania that Bessarabia (q.v.), and the Bukovina (q.v.) would have to be surrendered, but a promise of the retention of Transylvania (q.v.) far more precious, was read into the offer and was found later to be justified. Negotiations lagged until the boy-king Michael took control and installed a more trustworthy government in Bucharest. Events then moved rapidly. An armistice was concluded on 18 September

1944. Its terms, apart from those relating to Bessarabia, the Bukovina, and Transylvania, laid down that Rumania should keep twelve fully equipped divisions in the field against Germany and Hungary until the end of the War, should supply all Russian troops in or passing through the country, should return to Russia all military and other equipment taken away and replace that which could not be returned and should pay an indemnity of £75 million in the form of goods over a period of six years. These terms were a few months later modified appreciably in Rumania's favour, but the Russians retained practical control of the Rumanian economy.

Russia later dismissed the Rumanian Government and replaced it by a more amenable one, but Britain and the United States refused to recognize this Government. In the end, however, at the Moscow Conference, they gave way and, subject to the inclusion of two members of other parties, agreed to do so.

Of the 19,852,000 inhabitants of Rumania before the loss of Bessarabia, 75 per cent were of Rumanian race, 8 per cent Magyars, and 4 per cent German. Rumania is very rich in mineral and agricultural products. Of these the most important are petroleum, natural gas, cereals, live animals, wood products and eggs.

**Russia:** see Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of.

**Russian Alliance, Anglo:** see Anglo-Russian Agreement.

**Russo-Japanese Agreements:** Four secret treaties were concluded between Russia and Japan for the division of Manchuria and Mongolia into spheres of influence. These were signed in 1907, 1910, 1912, and 1916 respectively. They were all cancelled in 1918 by the Bolshevik Government, incidentally, because they were secret. Thus, on the morrow of the Treaty of Portsmouth which brought the Russo-Japanese War to a close, a *rapprochement* between the late enemies became evident. These agreements led to the annexation of Korea by Japan in August 1910 and to a movement in Russia for the formal annexation of North Manchuria. It was, however, decided to postpone this step for the time being. In 1912, in the midst of the Chinese



Revolution, Japan agreed to the grant of autonomy to Outer Mongolia, hitherto a part of the Chinese Empire, but under Russian protection. Three years later, in January 1915, Japan presented to China the so-called 'Twenty-one Demands' which demanded *inter alia* a formal treaty concerning her 'special interests' in South Manchuria and East Inner Mongolia. Russia's attention being absorbed elsewhere, she did not make parallel demands, but in general supported Japan, intending to act similarly later. The secret treaty between Russia and Japan of July of the following year (1916) provided for a military alliance between the two Powers directed in effect against the U.S.A.

**Russo-Japanese Pact:** An Agreement between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Republics and Japan, signed at Moscow on 13 April 1941, by which the two Powers undertook to respect one another's territorial integrity and inviolability and to observe neutrality in the event of the other party to the agreement being involved in war. At the same time a declaration was made to the effect that Japan would respect the inviolability of Outer Mongolia and Russia that of Manchukuo. The Chinese Government objected to this Declaration on the ground that neither Japan nor Russia was concerned with these territories which were part of the dominions of China. This Pact was suddenly denounced by Russia in May 1945, and a declaration of war and invasion followed.

**Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian Russia):** A province of Czechoslovakia, lying between Hungary, Rumania, and Poland, and inhabited by a population closely akin to the Ukrainians. Its area is 4,886 square miles, and its population in 1941 was 698,000. Before the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1941, the population of Ruthenia was 725,350, of whom 61·8 per cent were Ruthenians and 17·2 per cent Magyars. Cereals, potatoes, and tobacco are grown, and there are many vineyards and orchards. Cultivation is, however, backward. Cattle and horses are also reared. Until the end of the eighteenth century Ruthenia had for centuries been under Polish rule. At the partition of Poland it went to the Austrian Empire, and after the collapse of this empire in 1918 Ruthenia

was allotted to Czechoslovakia, special guarantees being given for the preservation of its cultural autonomy. This happened only to Ruthenia proper, the larger number of Ruthenians in the neighbouring lands being allotted to Poland and Rumania. The end of Czechoslovakia is dated from the Munich Agreement of 1938 (q.v.). This did not deal directly with Ruthenia, but of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia that began there the secession of Ruthenia was a part. A state of disturbance, influenced from without, set in at once. By the Vienna Award of 2 November of that year the greater part of Ruthenia was allotted to Hungary. Poland thereupon invaded the remnant. Czechoslovakia, however, held on to the territory. For a moment Ruthenia claimed its independence, but Hungary quickly brought this, as well as the Czechoslovakian occupation, to an end. The remainder of Ruthenia was thereupon annexed by Hungary.

The defeat of Germany brought Ruthenia again into the forefront of international affairs. For a brief period it returned to its earlier status of a part of Czechoslovakia, but the kinship of its people with the inhabitants of the neighbouring lands across the new Russian frontier at once aroused a movement for union with them. The Union of Soviet Republics, whose armies were in occupation of Ruthenia, was undisguisedly in favour of such a step. The Czechoslovakian Government was forced to recognize the situation, and in June 1945 Ruthenia was absorbed into the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine.

**Rye:** The world production of rye in 1938 was 481,300,000 quintals or 1,877,070,000 bushels. Of this, 209,300,000 quintals were grown in Russia, 91,973,000 in Germany and Austria, 72,534,000 in Poland, 19,061,000 in Czechoslovakia, and 14,114,000 in the U.S.A.

**Saadabad Pact, The:** Otherwise the Middle East Pact. An agreement between the Governments of Persia, Turkey, Iraq, and Afghanistan, signed on 8 July 1937, and extended in December 1942 until 25 June 1948, which provided for non-interference and non-aggression, consultation, and a mutual guarantee of common frontiers. The need for the agreement arose out of fears of Italian aggression. The agreement

followed the lines of the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact. Through Turkey the parties to the Saadabad Pact were linked with the Balkan League and through Iraq with the group of Arab Powers that had a loose formation.

**Saarland:** A German territory, partly in Prussia, partly in Bavaria, on the French frontier, consisting of 1,924 square kilometres, with a population (1939) of 863,736, which is especially rich in coal. Under the Treaty of Versailles this territory was to remain until January 1935 under the administration of the League of Nations, but the coal-mines were to become the property of France in compensation for the damage done in 1918 to the French mines by the German army. At the end of the period of administration by the League of Nations a plebiscite was to be held to ascertain whether (a) the régime established by the Treaty should be continued, (b) the district should be united with France, (c) it should be restored to Germany. The population is almost entirely German and voted 477,119 for reunion with Germany, 46,513 for the *status quo*, 2,124 for union with France. The National Socialists had in the meanwhile secured control of Germany, and although the population of Saarland was very largely anti-Nazi, the methods that had succeeded in Germany were put into force in the Saarland. The vote was therefore largely the result of terrorization. Saarland was transferred to Germany on 1 March 1935, and the provisions for the demilitarization of the Rhineland extended to that province. See also Franco-German Frontier.

**St. Germain, Treaty of:** A treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand, and the Republic of Austria, signed at St. Germain-en-Laye, on 10 September 1919. The treaty not only detached all the non-German parts of the former Austrian Empire, but deprived it also of about a third of its German-speaking subjects. Czechoslovakia and Italy were the principal heirs. Austria was further prohibited from uniting with Germany. The Covenant of the League of Nations and the Labour clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were incorporated in the treaty with Austria. Provision was made for the protection of racial

and religious minorities in the truncated Austria. The new state was practically disarmed, was deprived of all her foreign investments, forced to hand to the victors much of her movable property, and made liable for indefinite but very large payments as Reparations. Some of these very harsh conditions were subsequently relaxed.

**St. Jean de Maurienne, Treaty of:** A secret agreement made between Britain, France, Russia, and Italy in April 1917 whereby the Smyrna district of Turkey in Asia was promised to Italy in compensation for the distribution under the Sykes Picot treaty (q.v.) of other parts of the Ottoman Empire among the other parties to the treaty. The Smyrna district was subsequently promised also to Greece, but when the Greeks took possession they were summarily ejected by the Turks, who remained.

**St. Pierre and Miquelon:** The two principal islands of a small group close to the south coast of Newfoundland, forming a French colony. The islands were occupied by the French in 1660 and fortified in 1700. In 1702 they were captured by the British, but restored to the French in 1763. Between that year and 1814, when the islands were finally restored to the French, they were taken by the British on three occasions. They are the last remnant of the French Empire in North America. The islands' sole value is as a fishing centre; otherwise they are barely habitable. As it is, they are dependent on subsidies from France. The total area is 98 square miles, and the population in 1936 was 4,175. This population is diminishing in consequence of emigration to Canada. On the submission of France in 1940, the colony adhered to the Government of Vichy. But in the following year a landing from a 'Free' French vessel led to the ejection of the Governor and the adhesion of the islanders to the Allied cause.

**St. Thomé and Principe Islands:** see Portuguese Colonies.

**Sakhalin:** A large island in the North Pacific, lying off the coast of Eastern Siberia. It is divided between Russia and Japan. From 1875 to 1905 the whole of the island belonged to Russia, but in the latter year, under the terms

of the Treaty of Portsmouth (U.S.A.), Russia ceded the southern part of the island which the Japanese had held before 1875. By a secret clause in the Yalta Agreement (q.v.) Britain and the United States agreed that at the conclusion of the war Japanese Sakhalin should be ceded to Russia. The Japanese portion, which had a population of 331,943 in 1935, produces herrings and coal, and to a less extent gold and timber.

**Salonika** (Thessaloniki): Port in the north-east of Greece; one of the principal ports of south-eastern Europe. Salonika, whose history goes back to the second decade of the fourth century B.C., was a city of European Turkey until the year 1912, when it surrendered to the Greeks in the course of the First Balkan War. It had been in Turkish occupation for 482 years. The Turks and the Greeks were not the only Powers that coveted this important port. Among the Balkan peoples the Bulgars always considered they were entitled to it when the Turks were ejected, and their failure to secure it in 1912 was one of the causes of the Second Balkan War, in which Bulgaria was ranged against her former allies. Austria also had for long coveted Salonika and behind Austria was Germany. With the disappearance of Austro-Hungary in 1918, her place in this respect was taken by Italy.

The disruption of Turkey in Europe in 1912 and the severing of Salonika from its hinterland which went to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, very considerably reduced the trade and activities of the port. It is still the terminus of four important railways, one of which connects with the ports on the English Channel, and all of which connect with other countries. Since 1924 Yugoslavia has possessed a free zone in the port. Its population in 1938 was 236,524.

**Samoan Islands:** A group of islands in the Western Pacific, nine of them administered by the Government of New Zealand under a mandate from the League of Nations, and the remaining five, the property of the United States of America. In 1877 and 1879 the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, all three, acquired coaling stations in the islands, but agreed among themselves not to annex the islands. These Powers nevertheless were continually getting

involved in local politics and even in civil wars, and by a treaty signed in Berlin on 14 June 1889 they guaranteed the independence and autonomy of the islands. This agreement did not, however, last, and in 1900 the three Powers came to a new agreement whereby the islands were shared by the United States and Germany, Great Britain receiving compensation from Germany elsewhere.

Under the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 Germany ceded her share of the group to the Allied and Associated Powers, by whom they were entrusted under a mandate to the Government of New Zealand. These islands are now administered with the assistance of a partly elected legislative council and also of a wholly elected Native Council. The United States islands are under naval administration, but the natives are permitted considerable local self-government under chiefs appointed by the Administrator. The main importance of the United States islands is as a naval station.

The population of the New Zealand islands on 1 July 1940 was 61,249 (410 Europeans), and of the United States share, 12,908.

**Sanctions:** This term has taken the meaning of an economic boycott of any Power that resorts to war contrary to its undertaking in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Sanctions in this form are authorized under Article XVI of the Covenant which lays down that in such circumstances 'severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of other states should follow. The only occasion on which the imposition of Sanctions by members of the League was attempted was in October 1935, when Italy by her wanton invasion of Abyssinia rendered herself liable to them. On 7 October the States members of the Council of the League individually recorded their opinion that the Italian Government had resorted to war in disregard of its covenants and that Article XVI applied. The Assembly, on which every state member was represented, endorsed this opinion. The

defining and administration of the Sanctions was entrusted to a Co-ordination Committee, which imposed an embargo on the exports of arms and ammunition to Italy and took certain economic measures, including the prohibition of the supply to Italy of certain commodities. These measures were adopted by all the states members of the League with a few unimportant exceptions, and also by Japan and Brazil. Even Germany showed herself in general agreement with the other Powers. Petroleum, iron and steel, coal and coke, all essential to Italy in the conduct of the war, were, however, not included. A proposal was made that the export of these commodities also should be prohibited, but this proposal was smothered. Italy had protested most emphatically against it. In these circumstances Sanctions were little more than a gesture, and by April 1936 the Governments that had imposed them began to reverse their policy. The first to withdraw were a few Spanish-American republics and Poland, and on 15 July 1936 Sanctions were raised by all the remaining Powers.

**San Francisco Conference:** A conference of representatives of the United Nations, held in accordance with the decision reached at the Yalta Conference (q.v.), at San Francisco from 25 April until 26 June 1945. The purpose was to fill in the gaps, to supply the details to the principles of the Dumbarton Oaks Plan (q.v.). The functions of the organization whose constitution was drawn up by the Conference, to be known as the United Nations Organization, were primarily two: to maintain international peace and security, and to achieve international co-operation in economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian questions.

The Organization was to have six principal organs—a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat. The General Assembly was to have a general right of supervision over all the activities of the Organization and might make recommendations on all matters except when the Security Council was exercising its functions in respect of them. The Assembly was to be composed of all members of the Organization. The Security

Council was to have primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. It was to be composed of 11 members, five of them—Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and China—permanent. Action would be taken after an affirmative vote of not less than seven members, including the concurring votes of the five permanent members. The Council was to be helped and advised by a Military Staff Committee.

The Economic and Social Council would initiate studies into a wide range of problems and make recommendations on them. It was given the duty of initiating research and of proposing action on all international economic and social questions, including health. It was, for instance, to be the channel of communication between such organizations as the International Labour Office (q.v.) and the new Organization. ✓ The Trusteeship Council was to supervise the administration of such non-self-governing areas as would be placed under the trustee system. It would take the place of the Permanent Mandates Commission (q.v.) of the League of Nations. The International Court of Justice (see Permanent Court of International Justice) would be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Each member undertook to comply with the Court's decision in any case to which it was a party, although members might entrust the solution of their differences to other tribunals.

The procedure to be followed in the case of international disputes, serious or which hold the possibility of becoming serious, was as follows.

1. All parties to a dispute will be required to seek a solution either by negotiations, diplomatic inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies, or arrangements, or by any other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council will take cognisance of any dispute and will be empowered to make an investigation to determine whether the continuance of the dispute is likely to endanger peace and security.

3. Any member state, whether a party to a dispute or



not, may bring the existence of a dispute to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly.

4. If a state, which is a party to a dispute, refers it to the Security Council, it will be required to accept in advance the obligations of a pacific settlement.

5. The Security Council may at any stage of a dispute recommend to the parties that they adopt one or other of the necessary plans for adjustment.

6. If after these steps have been taken, the parties still fail or refuse to settle their disputes, and these continue to threaten the maintenance of peace then the Security Council 'can take enforcement action'.

There was much contest and argument at the Conference over the right of veto on all decisions of consequence claimed for the five principal Powers. This had been laid down at the Yalta Conference. It was at first proposed that not only should no action be taken but even that no matter should be discussed if any one of the five permanent members objected. Even this would have been a relaxation of the rigidity of the constitution of the League of Nations, which gave every member of the Council of the League an absolute veto. In the end discussion was agreed to in any circumstances, but action only if none of the five principal Powers objected.

Another subject that aroused much discussion and controversy was the relation to the new organization of those members who are also parties to Regional Pacts (q.v.). It was agreed that these pacts should have precedence over membership of the United Nations and in the event of conditions provided for in the pacts developing, action under the Pacts would be justified without awaiting action by the Security Council of the United Nations.

The agreements reached at San Francisco were ratified without delay by all five principal Powers.

**Sarawak:** A state, covering about 50,000 square miles, in the northern part of the Malayan island of Borneo, under a British Rajah and British protection. The territory was granted in 1842 by the Sultan of Brunei to Sir James Brooke,

great-uncle of the late Rajah, and was taken under British protection in 1888. The Brooke dynasty devoted itself for a century to the welfare and upraising of the population, which consists mainly of semi-civilized Malayan tribes. The principal exports of Sarawak are pepper, gold, sago, flour, gutta-percha, rubber, and mineral oil. Coal also exists in large quantities; the oil is largely undeveloped. The population in 1939 was about 600,000.

On the conclusion of the war in 1945, the Rajah gave Sarawak a constitution to which he surrendered his absolute powers. Incorporated in this constitution were the Supreme Council, first constituted in 1855, and the Council of Negri or State Council, a body of about a hundred members, which was previously mainly of a social character. In the new constitution the former became the Rajah's Executive Council or Cabinet, the latter the sole legislative body. Of the Council of Negri, fourteen members were nominated civil servants and the eleven others representatives of the people of all races and creeds. This constitution, however, never became effective, for by an agreement made by the Rajah and announced in February 1946, he ceded all his rights in Sarawak to the British Crown. Sarawak thereby became a Crown colony.

**Savoy:** A department of France, formed in 1860, of the southern portion of the Duchy of Savoy, which had for many centuries been Italian. It was ceded to France in that year in part payment for the assistance given by that Power to Piedmont in its war against Austria and the subsequent extension of its territories in Italy. Savoy adjoins the province of Nice (q.v.), which was ceded at the same time. Its principal products are cattle, dairy produce, and wine.

**Savoy Free Zones** (also known as the Geneva Free Zones): Under the Treaty of Vienna (1815) Switzerland possessed the right of free entry for her goods into the small neighbouring French district of Gex in Upper Savoy. Gex is on the Swiss side of the mountains and was for customs purposes treated as a part of Switzerland. Under the Treaty of Versailles (1919) the rights of Switzerland, which did not concern customs duties only, under the Treaty of Vienna

were recognized, but were declared 'no longer consistent with present conditions', and it was suggested that France and Switzerland should come to an agreement to vary them. France contended that this article abrogated the concession to Switzerland granted by the Treaty of Vienna, and in November 1928 arbitrarily transferred the customs barrier to the Swiss-Gex boundary. The difference was referred to the International Court of Justice. Failure by the French to ratify the reference to the Court caused great delay, but at length, in 1929, the International Court decided in favour of the Swiss contention. France accepted this decision, but at the same time insisted that Switzerland should grant her demands. (Her customs-houses had throughout the long period of waiting remained on the Swiss frontier.) The International Court a second time (1932) decided in favour of Switzerland and France again accepted the decision. But it was only in 1933 that the two Powers reached an agreement which was to hold for ten years.

**Scandinavia:** Geographically the peninsula in Northern Europe which comprises the Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. Historically Denmark and Iceland are also comprised in the term. All four states are now sovereign independent states, Iceland (q.v.) being a republic, the others kingdoms. The region of Lapland in the north is shared between Finland, Sweden, and Norway. At the end of the fourteenth century Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were united, but there were deep divisions between the peoples, and the union lasted only until 1450 when Sweden again had independence. In 1814 Norway, which had been united with Denmark, was detached by the Powers victorious in the war against Napoleon and transferred to the King of Sweden, as compensation for the loss of Finland to Russia; the King of Sweden thus ruled over twin kingdoms. The Norwegians were, however, never satisfied and at length, in 1905, secured, by peaceful agreement, their independence. Iceland, also by a peaceful agreement in the course of the war of 1940, seceded from the Kingdom of Denmark and became an independent republic.

The war of 1914 brought the three kingdoms closer to

one another, their foreign interests being recognized as identical. Agreement on joint action *vis-à-vis* the belligerent Powers was reached and secured throughout the duration of that war. The outbreak of war in 1939 brought to the fore a new movement for co-operation between the three states and there was even talk of a defensive block or Northern Union. The overrunning of Norway and Denmark and the anxiety of Sweden to preserve her neutrality, or, at least, independence, rendered any progress along these lines impossible. On the conclusion of the war steps towards a closer co-operation were taken by the Socialist parties, not only in the three kingdoms, but also in Finland and Iceland. The sphere of activity was, however, more cultural and social than political, the proposals for co-operation' being co-ordination of the social legislation of the five countries; introduction of a common labour market with freedom for the worker to seek employment in any of the five countries; economic co-operation for the purpose of co-ordinating and rationalizing the productive sources of the five countries; an increased interchange of students and scientific workers, mutual recognition of each other's examinations, and extended co-operation between the different broadcast services; and an investigation into the problem of achieving common rights of citizenship.

See also Denmark; Norway.

**Schleswig-Holstein:** A region connecting Denmark with Prussia; the southern portion of the peninsula of Jutland, with a contiguous portion of the Continent. The district comprises the former Danish duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenberg, of which almost all the inhabitants of Northern Schleswig are Danish-speaking and of Danish stock, the remainder of the population being German. Until 1863 these duchies were under the rule of the King of Denmark, but on the death of King Frederick VII, the last male member of his house, in that year, the question arose for settlement whether the duchies were an integral part of the possessions of the Danish Crown, or whether as German lands they should more properly come within the orbit of Prussia and the Empire. Involved in the controversy that arose was

the relationship between the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein themselves. The developments that followed were very complicated, as complicated as was the international and constitutional situation of the duchies. In the end Prussia and Austria invaded the duchies and within a few weeks succeeded in wresting them from Denmark. By the Treaty of Vienna of 30 October 1864 Denmark ceded the duchies to the victorious Powers. Two years later Prussia and Austria were involved in a war in which Austria was decisively beaten within a few weeks. As a consequence Austria disinterested herself in the duchies, which were incorporated in the Kingdom of Prussia. By the treaty that arranged this settlement a plebiscite should have been taken in Northern Schleswig to ascertain whether the population desired to be incorporated in Denmark, but the plebiscite was never taken and the clause was abrogated later, in 1878. The people, however, despite all the efforts of the Germans, remained Danish at heart. Provision was made in the Treaty of Versailles (1919) for the holding of plebiscites in these territories. Such plebiscites were held in the northern and central parts, and as a consequence of them the region north of Flensburg fjord was allotted to Denmark. The small German minority that passed to Denmark was treated with great liberality and seemed thoroughly satisfied until with the rise of National Socialism in Germany an agitation, incited from over the frontier, commenced and continued until the invasion of Denmark by Germany in 1940.

**Seas, Freedom of the:** A somewhat indefinite term denoting freedom for commercial ships to sail in time of peace and war, wherever they will without hindrance, on the high seas outside of territorial waters. This is accepted without question by all Powers in times of peace. The right on the part of the subjects of neutral Powers is, however, questioned in time of war by belligerents anxious to impose an effective blockade on their enemies. The principal advocate of the freedom of the seas at all times has always been the United States Government, as a rule when not at war. No. 2 of President Wilson's Fourteen Points (q.v.) demanded 'absolute freedom of navigation . . . alike in peace and war',

but Great Britain, accepting the other points, made reservations regarding this one. The Atlantic Charter (q.v.), a pronouncement by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, jointly, in Point 7 defined one of the peace aims as to 'enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance'.

See also Twelve Points, President Truman's.

**Senussi, The:** A Moslem sect or fraternity, deriving its name from a family, one of whose members founded it in North Africa in the early half of the nineteenth century. The centre of the sect was at first near Derna in Libya, later at the oasis of Jarabub farther south, and still later the still less accessible oasis of Jof. The influence of the sect spread over the whole of Cyrenaica (Turkish North Africa), and was also very powerful in the state of Wadai in the Sudan. Its followers were to be found from Fez to India and as far north as Damascus and Istanbul, and south into the Sudan and the Sahara. From spiritual eminence the sect and its head, known as the Senussi, gradually proceeded to great political influence. In parts of Cyrenaica the Senussi's power and influence were greater than those of the representatives of the Ottoman Government. The first armed clash of the Senussi was with the French, whose march across Africa in 1901 and 1902 they attempted to prevent. In this the Senussi were unsuccessful. In the invasion of Cyrenaica by the Italians in 1911 the Senussi gave their active support to the Turkish Government, and after the submission of the Turks they continued single-handed the war with the Italians. In this the Senussi had, on the whole, the advantage and the Italians were pinned down to the coast, being attacked even in the ports. After Italy had joined the Allies in the Great War the Senussi invaded Egypt, but by February 1917 they had been expelled and completely defeated. The Senussi thereupon concentrated in Cyrenaica, of the greater part of which they remained in control. After the war a new chief of the Senussi arose. He made an agreement with the Italians and was recognized by them as hereditary Emir of the Oases. However, the Italians, now under Fascist control, denounced the agreement three years later and war broke

out between the two parties. This was ultimately decided in favour of the Italians who conducted it with great cruelties, and the whole of the Senussi territory was, in the end, occupied.

**Sèvres, Treaty of:** Treaty negotiated between the Allied Powers and the Government of Turkey after the conclusion of the European War of 1914 to 1918 and signed on 10 August 1920, under which practically the whole of the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of Constantinople (Istanbul) and a small surrounding territory in Europe, and Asia Minor, apart from a large region centring round Smyrna and Armenia, were to be ceded to the Allied Powers. The Smyrna region, Thrace, and the islands of Tenedos and Imbros were to pass under Greek control. Syria, Armenia, the Hejaz, and Mesopotamia, were to be recognized as independent. The 'Zone of the Straits', that is, the coasts of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus, which zone included Constantinople, was to be under the control of the League of Nations. Other clauses of the treaty provided for the *de facto* recognition of the French, British, and Italian position in Tunis, Morocco, Egypt, the Sudan, Cyprus, and Libya. Italian sovereignty in the Dodecanese (q.v.) was to be recognized. Ottoman rights in the Suez Canal were to be ceded to Britain. The Turkish Army was to be reduced to a force of 50,000 men and the Turkish Navy and Air Force abolished. The finances of Turkey were to be placed in the hands of a commission to be appointed by Great Britain, France, and Italy. The Turkish Government agreed to these terms after strong protests and with much hesitation, but in the meanwhile a revolt broke out in Asiatic Turkey, which gathered such strength that after the repulse of an attempt by Greece to take possession of the Smyrna district the Treaty was never ratified and a far milder one, that of Lausanne (q.v.) substituted for it.

**Shanghai:** The largest port of China and the Far East, situated near the mouth of the Yangtze-Kiang river it is the main sea-gate of China. It was first opened to foreign trade—became a treaty port—in 1842 and the English Settlement was founded shortly afterwards. Previously

Shanghai had been entirely a Chinese city, but one rich in manufactures. Later French and American Settlements were founded. The British and American Settlements were afterwards amalgamated and placed under an administration in which all of the foreign inhabitants shared. The prosperity of Shanghai continued to increase and the interest of the European and American Powers in its welfare grew at the same time. More than once their armed forces were called on to defend the city and port from rebels against the Chinese Government. By successive treaties with China, the powers of the Europeans there were extended until the two Municipal Councils (of the International and the French settlements) became administrations practically independent of that of China. The population of these settlements has long ceased to be entirely European and American, many Chinese preferring European government to their own. In 1926 these non-European residents were given a voice in the International Municipality. The French Settlement was entirely under French control. The governing body of the International Settlement consisted of British, Chinese, American, and Japanese members. The Chinese city had also its own governing body.

The population of Shanghai in 1931 was 3,489,998, of whom 1,450,685 lived in the settlements.

Of recent years a movement has been growing in China for the restoration of Chinese administration in Shanghai and the other European settlements (see Extraterritoriality). The justice of this claim was recognized and the British and American Governments promised that after the end of the war the Chinese request would be granted. When the war did end the whole of Shanghai passed under Chinese unfettered sovereignty.

**Siam:** see Thailand.

**Sierra Leone:** see Africa, British West.

**Silesia:** A region in Eastern Europe, partitioned between Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Previous to 1919 the whole of Upper Silesia was German. In that year, however, 122 square miles with a population of 48,446 were attached without hesitation to Czechoslovakia. In the remainder of



the territory a plebiscite on the question whether it should remain German or pass to Poland was taken. The majority of the votes, 717,122 to 488,514, were in favour of Germany, despite a sustained campaign of terrorism that was waged by the Poles, but in some districts the Poles outnumbered the Germans. The Council of the League of Nations decided to partition the unallotted part of Upper Silesia between the two states. By this decision 1,241 square miles, with large mineral resources, at least 75 per cent of the material wealth of the country and a population of 892,457, went to Poland. The new boundary cut across an homogeneous industrial area and carried with it much economic dislocation. The population of Upper Silesia was originally Slav but German settlement and development began many centuries ago. From the fourteenth century, Silesia, which consisted of a number of small duchies, began to be absorbed by the neighbouring Bohemia, and by this avenue passed into the Empire. Frederick II of Prussia seized practically the whole of Silesia in 1740 to 1742, and it remained a part of Prussia until the Treaty of Versailles, almost two centuries later. Under the Prussians the region developed rapidly.

On the conclusion of the war with Germany in 1945, Poland, with Russian support and British acquiescence, claimed the whole of Silesia. It was decided at the Potsdam Conference (q.v.) to defer a final decision until a Peace Conference met, but in the meanwhile the Polish occupation of the whole territory which had already taken place, was acquiesced in, and Poland had begun to expel the German population and to replace it by Polish settlers.

Economically and administratively Silesia consists of two distinct parts: Upper Silesia, the south-eastern quarters, with a little more than two-fifths of the population (1933), is a predominantly industrial, rich, mining area, mixed in population and overwhelmingly Roman Catholic by religion. Lower Silesia, purely German in population and with a Protestant majority, is predominantly agricultural, with a large capital, Breslau (about 650,000 inhabitants), and a partly industrial southern fringe along the Sudeten mountain range. The wealth of Silesia and its importance to war

economy lie not so much in its value as a food-producing area as in its mineral and industrial resources. While Silesia, with  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the population of pre-1938 Germany, supplied, before the war, from 10 to 12 per cent of Germany's home-grown rye, wheat, barley, and potatoes and rather more of its sugar-beet, the Upper Silesian industrial region produced about one-third of the total coal and lignite output of Germany and 10 to 15 per cent of German steel and other minerals (especially zinc, of which in 1938 it accounted for some 10 per cent of world output). Silesia has also become a centre of Germany's chemical industry, with her largest synthetic oil plant, capable, it is reported, of an annual output of one million tons.

**Silk:** The world production of silk in 1940 was estimated at 57,000 tons, of which 45,000 were produced in Japan, 1,800 in Korea, 600 to 700 in Manchukuo, 3,768 in China, 3,500 in Italy, and 1,700 in the U.S.S.R.

**Silver:** The world production of silver in 1940 was about 8,300 tons of which 2,570 were mined in Mexico, 2,194 in the U.S.A., 741 in Canada, and 619 in Peru.

**Sinkiang:** A province composed of Chinese Turkestan, Kulja, and Kashgaria, lying between Mongolia and Tibet and administered by Chinese officials. It extends to about 550,000 square miles and has a population of a number of races—all Moslem—of about 1,200,000. Sinkiang has trade relations with the British and the Russians.

**Slovakia:** A region, formerly a part of Hungary, inhabited by Slovaks, a Slav people closely akin to their neighbours, the Czechs. For the greater part of their history the Slovaks were subjects of the Emperor: after the dissolution of the Empire they became subjects of the Austrian Emperor in his capacity of King of Hungary. For a short period, early in the fourteenth century, however, they formed a small independent state. In the revolution of 1848 the Slovaks rebelled against the Hungarians, but after the rebellion had been suppressed they were again placed under their yoke. By the Hungarians their culture and nationality were deliberately suppressed. When the state of Czechoslovakia came into existence in October 1918 the Slovakian districts

of Hungary were incorporated in it. Slovakia remained a part of the new state until that state was destroyed by the German invasion of the much-curtailed Czechoslovakia on 14 March 1939. Germany had previously seized some of the Slovakian territory. Six months earlier, when Czechoslovakia was already falling to pieces, Slovakia secured a large measure of autonomy under an Autonomist régime. The uneasy six months of this period were passed in a state approaching anarchy. There were continual incursions from Poland and Hungary, while the Army, which a few months before was ardent to defend the united state against the threats of Germany, discouraged by the series of events, seemed no longer willing even to defend their homes. At the same time German influence increased rapidly and with it the imitation of German methods in the treatment of those sections of the population of which those in control of the Government did not approve. Incidentally, an anti-Czech movement developed at an alarming rate. Before the end of the year a government after the Fascist pattern had control of Slovakia which was virtually independent.

On the seizure of the remainder of the territory of Czechoslovakia by Germany, Slovakia, with the encouragement of Germany, declared itself an independent republic and two days later Herr Hitler undertook to 'protect' the new state. By the treaty of 18 March 1939 Slovakia became, for all practical purposes, a part of the Greater German Reich. Eighteen months later it formally joined the Axis. In theory it was a Totalitarian republic.

It was estimated that of the population of Czechoslovakia in 1930 2,490,534 or sixteen per cent was Slovak. The Slovaks, with a lower standard of civilization, intellectual as well as material, were always the more reactionary in their political and social aspect. A reactionary party, the Slovak People's Party, had, throughout the two decades of the Czechoslovakian state, considerable influence and as Nazi influence increased so did that of this party.

See also Czechoslovakia.

**Slovenia:** The Slovenes are a Slav people inhabiting Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, in the former Austria and

also the extreme south-western part of the pre-1914 Hungary. They once covered a wider area. However, in this region, they formed a number of groups with local differences. Slovenia or the Slovenes have never formed a political entity. Differing in this respect from some of their fellow subject-races, the relations between the Slovenes and the Habsburg Empire were always satisfactory and there was some question, after the Revolution of 1848, of detaching the Slovene districts from Austria and creating of them an independent state under the Habsburg crown. This, however, did not eventuate. On the disintegration of Austro-Hungary in 1918, Slovenia with other districts joined the Kingdom of Serbia to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia, although a quarter of the Slovenian territory went to Italy. On the German invasion of Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941, Slovenia was partitioned between Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Of a total population of about 1,750,000, 875,000 were annexed by Germany, a further quarter of a million went to join the 420,000 who were already under Italian rule and the remainder went to Hungary.

See also Carinthia.

**Smyrna** (Izmir): The principal port and one of the greatest cities of Asia Minor, until 1922 the centre of a large and very long-settled Ottoman Greek population. Smyrna and district, which have been a part of the Ottoman Empire since its establishment, were allotted provisionally by the principal Allied and Associated Powers at the conclusion of the World War of 1914–18 to Greece, although by a secret treaty, signed prior to the entry of Italy into the war on the side of the Allies, it was to have gone to Italy. Of a total population of 1,057,000 in 1914, it was estimated that 509,000 were Turks and 470,000 Greeks. The loss of Smyrna was not accepted by the Turkey that was renewing its strength under Mustafa Kemal. A new war broke out between his forces and the Greek army of occupation. The latter was defeated and driven out of Asia Minor and a large part of the Greek population accompanied or followed the Greek army. By the Treaty of Lausanne (q.v.), which was

signed in the following year, the port and district reverted to Turkish sovereignty. The wars, the massacres, and the emigration had reduced the population of the province to 597,812 in 1935. The population of the port in 1940 was 184,362. Izmir is one of the principal tobacco-producing districts of Turkey.

**Socialism:** 'A theory or policy of social organization which aims at or advocates the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, property, etc., by the community as a whole, and their administration or distribution in the interests of all' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). The term also denotes the political movement formed for the furtherance of the policy. The theory of socialism has, in some quarters, been carried somewhat farther than the foregoing definition would reach and has developed into Marxism (q.v.) and Communism (q.v.). Socialism is more academic than these practical applications of its doctrines. The theory of socialism goes back very far. It can be traced in the Bible, even in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, and Plato's *Republic* may, not without justification, be described as imbued with the spirit of socialism. Since the appearance of that work there have been many others that speculated on the reorganization of society on a socialist basis. Modern socialism may, however, be dated from early in the nineteenth century when the idea began to pass from the realm of speculation into the possibilities of practical application. The first serious modern advocate of practical socialism was a Scotsman, Robert Owen (1771-1858), and his advocacy led to a practical experiment which, surrounded by enemies, failed so far as Owen and his coadjutors were concerned. Owen, however, succeeded in turning the attention of political thinkers in his direction and thus may be considered the founder of modern practical socialism, and from Owen through Engels, Marx, and many others there is a direct line of succession to the present-day Socialist movement and to the Communist experiment in Russia.

From Great Britain, socialism has spread throughout the world, first only as a philosophy but after a not very long interval as a practical political movement. Socialist parties

have appeared in all countries in which freedom of political thought is tolerated and in many of them they have risen to power, although the variety and extent of socialism practised when the opportunity offered has differed and the application by an administration formed of members of the Socialist Party has invariably fallen short of the policy advocated before office was reached. There have been Socialist governments in Great Britain, Australia, and Scandinavia, and others with a large Socialist element, sometimes under Socialist prime ministers, in Germany, France, Spain, and other countries. Russia (q.v.) has for more than twenty years been a union of Socialist republics.

**Solomon Islands:** A group of islands in the Western Pacific, a part of Melanesia, formerly in part British, in part German. The German part was ceded under the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and has since been administered by the Australian Commonwealth under a mandate. The British Solomon Islands form a protectorate. The islands were discovered by a Spanish navigator in 1568, but no advantage was taken by Spain of the discovery. They were rediscovered late in the eighteenth century by British and French navigators. European powers did not, however, settle there until much later: the British in 1893, the Germans a few years later. The Australian Solomon Islands are a part of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

**Somaliland:** A coastal region in north-east Africa on the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, inhabited by Somalis, a Hamitic race akin to the inhabitants of the neighbouring Abyssinia. Somaliland is in effect the coastland of Abyssinia. It is divided between French Somaliland (8,492 square miles) on the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb with the port of Jibuti, British Somaliland (68,000 square miles) stretching east, but not so far as the Indian Ocean, and Italian Somaliland (194,000 square miles), occupying the remainder of the coastal territory, for some distance inland, as far as the British colony of Kenya. The French occupation dates from 1856, the British from 1884, the Italian from 1889. The country is dry and inhospitable. French Somaliland exports coffee, hides, and salt; British Somaliland: skins, hides, gum,

and resins, cattle, sheep, and goats; Italian Somaliland: cattle, coffee, skins, and gum.

Italian Somaliland can never be financially other than a liability. Italy would probably not wish to retain possession of it without Ethiopia, even if she were permitted to do so. Ethiopia would like to have it in order to secure access to the sea. In July 1946 the principal Allied Powers, while agreeing that Somaliland should not be restored to Italy, postponed a decision as to its fate for a year.

**South Africa, Union of:** The Union of South Africa was constituted by the South Africa Act of the Imperial Parliament of 20 September 1909. It came into existence as a dominion of the British Commonwealth on 31 May 1910 by the union of the self-governing colonies of Cape Colony or Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. Of these the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had been annexed, after the South African War, only in 1902. The other two colonies had for long been under British rule. The population of Natal is mainly British in origin and of the Orange Free State Dutch. In the two other colonies the Dutch predominate, but there is, especially in the Cape Colony, an appreciable British element. The total population in 1941 was estimated at 10,521,000, of whom 2,188,000 were Europeans and 238,000 Asiatics (see Indians in Natal). The area of the Union is 472,550 square miles. The former German colony of South-West Africa (q.v.) is administered by the Union of South Africa under a mandate from the League of Nations. The Senate, which with a few exceptions is elected, is limited to British subjects of European ancestry, but four of its members are elected as representatives of the non-European population. The Lower House is also limited to British subjects of European ancestry, their election resting with all male and female members of the population of the age of twenty-one and upwards, provided, however, they also are of European ancestry. Three members, also Europeans, are elected by those natives whose names appear on the Cape Native Voters Roll. (Until 1936 a limited number of South African natives were able to exercise the full franchise in the Cape Province.) In addition

there is a Natives Representative Council consisting of ten Government nominees and twelve elected native members, whose function is to consider and report on proposed legislation that may affect the native population and other matters referred to it.

The four former colonies are now constituted as provinces under Provincial Administrators and Councils. Membership of these Councils is not limited to men and women of European ancestry, and in the Cape Province two members are elected by the native voters. The Provincial Councils deal with all local matters and such others as may be delegated to them. English and Dutch are both official languages throughout the Union.

At first the division of political parties was on a racial basis. In 1920, however, the two principal parties combined, leaving small ones, the Dutch Nationalists and Labour, outside. General Smuts was then Prime Minister and General Hertzog the Leader of the Opposition. The Government was defeated at the General Election of 1924 and a new Government, under General Hertzog, was formed with the co-operation of Labour. The new Government showed itself unsympathetic towards the natives and their rights, which were further restricted. After nine years, during which there were very deep controversies regarding the national flag and the place to be occupied by the Union Jack in it, the two leaders formed a coalition government under General Hertzog. This continued until the outbreak of war in 1939. In that war General Hertzog's policy was to remain neutral, but he failed to carry Parliament with him. He thereupon resigned and General Smuts became prime minister. Under him South Africa entered fully into the war. In the meanwhile an extreme Nationalist Party, whose policy was secession from the Empire and the setting up of a republic and whose membership was entirely Dutch, had grown up. It was obscurantist also in other respects and to some extent under Nazi influence. General Hertzog on his resignation went into opposition and carried with him thirty-eight followers. After a time the two Opposition parties combined on a basis of republicanism, reaction, and opposition to the



war. The combination did not, however, last for long and the Opposition split into several fragments, the most extreme of which was the Ossewabrandwag movement or party. General Hertzog, disowned by his immediate followers, retired from politics.

South Africa's products are agricultural, industrial, and mineral. In the first class come wheat, mealies, and oats, tobacco, tea, sugar-cane, citrus, and other fruits, wine, and wool. The chief industrial products are food and drink, metals, chemicals, and clothing. The most important mineral products are gold, diamonds, coal, copper, and tin.

**Soviet-Polish Agreement:** An agreement between the Soviet and Polish Governments signed in London on 30 July 1941, whereby diplomatic relations between the two governments were restored and both agreed to render one another aid and support in the war against 'Hitlerite Germany', until 'complete victory and the final destruction of the German invaders'. In peace 'their relations will be based on good neighbourly collaboration, friendship, and the mutual honest observance of undertakings assured by both parties'.

See also Poland.

**Soviet-Polish Pact:** A pact of mutual assistance, to run for a minimum period of twenty years, between the Soviet and Provisional Polish Governments (see Poland). The pact was specifically directed against Germany and her allies, present and prospective, and laid down that the two Powers should, if either considers such a course justified, immediately take military measures, and at all times support one another. The two Powers also recorded their respect for the independence and sovereignty of one another, and their intention to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of their partner. Under a later agreement, made on 17 August 1945, the Soviet-Polish frontier was delimited and the Soviet Government undertook to transfer to Poland 15 per cent of her share of reparations from Germany.

**Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of:** In the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917 the All-Russian Congress of Soviets gained control of those portions—the greater part—of the Russian Empire that did not secede. They were

constituted in a number of Soviet Republics, representatives of the four principal ones of which met in Moscow in December 1922 and made a Treaty of Union. The Union now consists of the autonomous Soviet Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, White Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Karelia, Moldavia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The U.S.S.R. is 'a Socialist State of Workers and Peasants'. Its governing body consists of two chambers: the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The former of these two Councils is elected by the citizens of the Union, over ninety-one million of whom voted at the elections of 1937. The Council of Nationalities is nominated by the Supreme Councils of the Union, of the autonomous republics and of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Autonomous Regions. The permanent governing body of the Union is the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee which consists of seven representatives each of the two councils and a further seven elected by the two councils in joint session. The Sovnarkom or Council of Peoples' Commissars is the cabinet of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee to which it is responsible. M. V. M. Molotov is the Chairman of the Sovnarkom, M. Nicolai Shvernik is Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Marshal Joseph Stalin General Secretary of the Communist Party in which the sovereignty of the Union was vested until the Supreme Council was established in 1936. The Council of the Union is elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot, but persons exploiting the labour of others, private traders, rentiers, monks, clergy, and others employed by religious establishments, are disfranchised. Only one political party, the Communist, is recognized. In these circumstances Marshal Stalin is, in effect, the Dictator of Russia.

Each of the constituent states of the Union has its own Central Executive and Council of Peoples' Commissars. They enjoy autonomy in many spheres, but in others the authority is centralized in the Union Government.

In February 1944 a change that amounted almost to a constitutional revolution was made in the structure of the

Union. In his speech to the Supreme Soviet, on the 1st of that month, M. Molotov said: 'The question is raised of the transformation of two People's Commissariats, that of Defence and that of Foreign Affairs, which are to be transformed from All-Union Commissariats into Union-Republic People's Commissariats. Up till now the republics of the Union have taken part in the common task of creating, organizing, and arming the Red Army. Our army is an All-Union army. Now it is proposed to set up armed forces of the republics which must become the constituent parts of the Red Army. It is also proposed to give full powers to the Soviet republics to enter into relations with foreign States and to make treaties with them. This makes it necessary to set up foreign commissariats of the Soviet republics, and in addition a foreign commissariat of the Union of the republics. The significance of this step is obvious. It means a great extension of activities of the republics of the Union, made possible by their political, economic, cultural, and national role. . . .

'There will also be a transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. By the side of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs there already existed Peoples' Commissariats in the Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, but until now the Soviet State has been represented abroad by all-Union diplomatic representatives, and it was the Union that entered into treaties and agreements with foreign Powers. Now, however, the question of the foreign relations of the Union republics has assumed a different aspect from that of two decades ago, when the Soviet Union was being formed. Now it is a question of the development of the vital needs of the republics, and the solution is dictated by the interests of the Union as a whole.'

These changes aroused a certain amount of suspicion abroad, especially in North America, where the opinion was widely expressed that their effect and intention were to give Marshal Stalin sixteen votes, instead of one, at any international gathering. In fact the Union secured three votes at the San Francisco Conference, without, however, forgoing

the assumed right to the full number, and the Soviet Republics of White Russia and the Ukraine were represented as well as the parent Soviet Republic at the first meeting of the United Nations Organization.

**Soya Beans:** The soya bean is a very valuable product for human food and for cattle. The world production in 1940 was estimated at 7,300,000 tons, of which 3,827,000 were grown in Manchuquo, 2,172,800 in the U.S.A., and 306,700 in the Netherland East Indies.

**Spa Conference, The:** see Reparations.

**Spitsbergen:** A large island in the Arctic Ocean close to the northern shore of Europe, whose principal product is coal. By a treaty between Norway and the Allied Powers signed in Paris on 9 February 1920 the sovereignty of Norway over the group of islands of which Spitsbergen is the principal was recognized.

**Spanish Civil War, The:** The constitutional position of Spain has been unsettled since the beginning of the twentieth century and also for the greater part of the nineteenth. The monarchy came to an end in 1931 in the course of a bloodless revolution. Its last years had been overshadowed by a Fascist dictatorship under Primo de Rivera, which had fallen to pieces almost as a consequence of its innate weakness. The monarchy was succeeded by a republic which, in consequence of the composite character of the elements that supported it, from the beginning suffered from constitutional debility. This form of government, however, had unquestionably the approval of the greater part of the articulate electorate. The Fascists and the other parties of the Right were, however, never reconciled to the change and from the general elections of February 1936, at which the Popular Front was successful, the situation became rapidly worse. On the 17th of July of that year civil war broke out in Morocco when General Franco, who had flown there from the Canaries of which he was Governor, put himself at the head of the Foreign Legion and of Moorish troops. These he sent to the mainland, in several parts of which revolts had broken out. The rebellion was joined by most of the military officers, but half the navy and the greater part of the air

force remained loyal. At the same time a workers' militia, sworn to defend the Republic, was formed and joined by a very large number of recruits. Sympathizers in other countries also joined the Republican forces as individuals. The war lasted for almost three years in the course of which ruthlessness was shown on both sides, but the atrocities committed by the rebels far exceeded those of the Republicans.

At the beginning and for some time afterwards the advantage lay with the Republicans. General Franco, who on the death of General Sanjurgo in September 1936 became the accepted leader of the Rebellion, soon lost the initial advantage he had had in having the greater number of trained troops at his disposal and came more and more to depend on Italian military aid, given in an ever-increasing measure, first under the pretence that it consisted of private volunteers. This pretence was, however, soon thrown away and the world was edified by the spectacle of Signor Mussolini who, formally in concert with the other European Governments, was vociferating his neutrality or 'non-intervention' (q.v.), was simultaneously publicly dispatching Italian armies with his blessing, for the rescue of Spain from 'Communism'. The greater part of the foreign support came from Italy. More effective, however, was the specialist assistance, mainly in the form of aeroplanes and their crews, supplied by Germany. On the other side, air assistance and also munitions were supplied to the Government from Russia. At one period, still under the pretence of 'non-intervention', the Italian submarines took to the sinking of Spanish Government vessels and also of ships of other nations trading with Spain, but the Nyon Agreement brought this kind of piracy to a sudden end. France was sympathetically disposed towards the Republic, but was held back by Great Britain. Thus the Spanish Government had to face almost unaided not only the rebels who had the greater part of the army and the whole of Morocco behind them, but also the armed forces of Italy and very effective assistance from Germany which was taking advantage of the Civil War as a rehearsal for the greater one which it foresaw. The end

was inevitable and came in March 1939. An intense persecution of all the loyal elements in Spain followed.

**Steel:** The total production of steel in 1937 was about 135,100,000 tons, of which 51,380,000 were produced in the U.S.A., 20,018,000 in Germany and Austria, 17,730,000 in the U.S.S.R., 13,192,000 in the United Kingdom, 7,920,000 in France, 5,811,000 in Japan, 3,863,000 in Belgium, 2,510,000 in Luxemburg, 2,315,000 in Czechoslovakia, and 2,099,000 in Italy. In the following year the output fell by 26,000,000 tons. Complete figures are not available for the war years, but in 1940 the output of the U.S.A. was about 60,765,000 tons.

**Stettin:** A seaport on the west bank of the Oder, seventeen miles from the Baltic Sea, the capital of the Prussian province of Pomerania (q.v.), and the seaport of Berlin. With Breslau it is the most important German city that has been virtually annexed by the Poles, its German inhabitants being expatriated. As a German city its population was over a quarter of a million, but this has since been reduced to a few thousands. Except for thirty years in the seventeenth century, and for forty years at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, when it was in the hands of the Swedes, Stettin has always been in all senses a German city.

**Stresa Conference (I):** A conference of sixteen governments held under the auspices of the League of Nations from 5 to 10 September 1932 to recommend steps for the assistance of the states of central and eastern Europe in their economic difficulties. When the recommendations came forward for ratification the differences between the principal powers were so considerable and deep that there was no practical outcome.

**Stresa Conference (II):** A conference between representatives of Britain, France, and Italy, held from 11 to 14 April 1935. The three powers agreed on a common line of action to be taken in regard to the denunciation by the German Government on the 16th March of its armament obligations under the Treaty of Versailles and to the intention of the French to bring the matter before the Council of

the League of Nations, taking exception in particular to the unilateral action of the German Government, 'at a moment when steps were being taken to promote a freely negotiated settlement of the question of armaments'. The Powers, nevertheless, reaffirmed their earnest desire to make every practicable effort towards an international agreement on the limitation of armaments. To this end the three Powers intended to give consideration to the expressed desires of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, to be relieved of the shackles imposed on their armaments by the Treaties into which they had entered. The three Powers confirmed their previous declarations that the necessity of maintaining the independence and integrity of Austria would continue to inspire their common policy and agreed to recommend to the other powers the examination of the possibility of a settlement accompanied by guarantees for security. Finally the three Powers recorded their complete agreement to oppose 'by all practicable means, any unilateral repudiation of treaties which may endanger the peace of Europe, and will act in close and cordial collaboration for this purpose'.

**Sub-Carpathian Russia:** see Ruthenia.

**Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian:** A very large region in north-central Africa, marching with Egypt on the north. The district was conquered by Mehemet Ali, independent Pasha of Egypt, in 1820 to 1822. As the Egyptian rule deteriorated under his successors, the extent of their empire was reduced. There was a temporary revival under the Khedive Ismail, but this may be said to have come to an end with the resignation by Gordon (of Khartum) of his governorship of the Sudan in 1879. In the end a religious movement under a mahdi or Moslem prophet, brought Egyptian rule in these non-Egyptian provinces to an end. In the meanwhile the British had occupied Egypt which had become in effect a British protectorate. By them Gordon was sent back to Khartum with instructions to set up a new form of government, but being without military support he was killed by the Mahdi's forces and the Sudan became, for the time being, an independent state. The Mahdi died shortly afterwards and his successor ruled the Sudan for fourteen years. In

1898 an Anglo-Egyptian force under Sir Herbert (afterwards Viscount) Kitchener recovered the territory. The Government of the Sudan was henceforth an Anglo-Egyptian condominium in which the whole power rested with the British partner. The claim of Egypt to recover control of the Sudan was one of those put forward by the Egyptian Nationalists, but there has nevertheless been no change of any practical consequence in its status. This status was confirmed by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, under which the Egyptian forces that had previously been removed from the Sudan when their loyalty to the British cause was subject to doubt, were readmitted. In 1939 steps were taken for the gradual abolition of the subvention paid by the Egyptian Government to the finances of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

With the end of war in 1945 the Egyptian Government raised the question of the status of the Sudan and asked for a revision of the treaty that governed it. The Egyptians asked for the incorporation of the Sudan in the Kingdom of Egypt either as a province or as a federated state. In any event, the Egyptians argue, despite the terms of the agreement of 1899, the Sudan instead of being governed under an Anglo-Egyptian condominium is in effect a British dependency.

**Sudetenland:** A region in the north of Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) on the frontier of Germany: inhabited for the most part by Germans, but never a part of Germany, always included in Bohemia. The Sudetenland is not only industrially well-developed, with valuable mineral resources, but also includes the northern strategic frontier of Czechoslovakia, deprived of which the country lies open to an invader. The area is 11,236 square miles and the population (1939) 8,396,244. For some years the relations between the Sudeten Germans and their Czech neighbours were, on the whole, satisfactory. But after the advent to power in Germany of National Socialism, the Sudetenland was, after Austria, the first region on which hungry eyes were cast. The technique there, as elsewhere, was to arouse a feeling, partly of pseudo-patriotic (intensely nationalist) fervour,



partly of inevitability, among the population which was also injected from across the frontier with large doses of Pan-Germanism. The Sudeten leader, in effect the representative of Hitler, was Konrad Henlein, whose demands grew almost overnight. Behind Henlein at every step was Hitler. France and Russia were bound by treaty specifically to help Czechoslovakia in the event of an attack. Britain was similarly bound implicitly by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Hitler, however, browbeat all parties. Britain and France intervened, ignoring Russia completely, accepted Germany's demands for the cession of the Sudetenland (1938) and forced Czechoslovakia to agree. By this step the country lay open to any invader from the north and not many months passed before the fate of the Sudetenland overtook the remainder of Czechoslovakia. On the expulsion of the Germans from Czechoslovakia at the conclusion of the European War in 1945, the Czechoslovak Government, under the patronage of Russia, regained control. One of their first actions was the systematic expulsion across the German frontier of the approximately two million inhabitants of the Sudetenland who were akin to the Germans of Germany, and the organized settlement in their place of Czechs from Bohemia.

**Suez Canal, The:** A canal, 103 miles long, connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and completed in 1869. The canal was built by a French company and the greater number of the shares were held in France. The British, doubtful of the success of the enterprise, declined to take any share in it, but when the Khedive found himself in financial difficulties in 1875 his shares, which then numbered 176,602 out of a total of 400,000, were acquired by the British Government which thereby secured a great influence over the policy of the directors and their administration. The Company, however, remained French with its headquarters in Paris. Commercially the canal has proved a great success. By the constitution of the Company no preference is permitted to the vessels of any nation as compared with another. Its neutrality was guaranteed by the principal maritime powers at a conference held at Constantinople in 1888, and it was then laid down that the Canal

should 'always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag'. This condition has been observed except that, Britain being in control of Egypt and, in consequence, of the Canal, during the two great wars, it has in effect been closed to enemy vessels. In 1898, moreover, the passage of Spanish warships—Spain being then at war with the United States—was refused.

The Suez Canal, by enabling vessels to pass from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, reduces the journey from Britain and Europe to East Africa, India, the Far East, and Australia, very appreciably. The concession granted by the Government of Egypt to the Company is due to expire in 1968 when it will presumably revert to the Government of Egypt. The Board of Directors consists of twenty-one French citizens, ten British subjects (three nominated by the Government) and one Dutchman. More than half of the tonnage passing through the Canal is British. In the year 1939 Italy came second with a little more than a seventh, then Holland with more than a tenth, Germany with one-fourteenth, and France with one-fifteenth. Much of the Italian traffic was for the maintenance of her empire in East Africa. In her pre-military campaign against France, Italy linked the Suez Canal with her demands against France in respect of Tunis, Corsica, and Nice, but was never definite in respect of them.

**Sugar:** The total production of sugar in the year 1940-1 was 27,730,000 tons, of which 10,380,000 were beet sugar and 17,350,000 cane sugar. The principal producers of beet sugar were Germany and Austria (2,828,600 tons in 1939-40), U.S.S.R. (2,145,800 in 1940-1; 2,400,000 in 1939-40), U.S.A. (4,568,500 in 1940-1), France (450,000 in 1940-1; 930,000 in 1939-40), Italy (546,500 in 1940-1; 441,500 in 1939-40), Czechoslovakia (467,900 in 1939-40), Poland (387,000 in 1939-40; 491,800 in 1938-9), and the United Kingdom (170,000 in 1940-1; 494,000 in 1939-40).

Of cane sugar the principal producers are British India 3,454,000 tons, Cuba 2,885,800, Netherlands Indies 1,760,000, Brazil 1,191,900, the Philippine Islands 987,000, Hawaii

821,400, Formosa 798,000, Porto Rico 779,000, Australia 767,900, the Argentine 537,300, South Africa 467,800, Peru 405,000, San Domingo 345,400, Mauritius 316,200, and Mexico 313,000. These figures are for the year 1940-1.

**Sulphur:** The production of sulphur in 1938 was estimated at 7,600,000 tons, the principal producers being the U.S.A. 2,655,000 tons, Spain 1,098,000, Italy 834,000, Norway 458,000, Cyprus 388,000, and Portugal 331,000.

**Swaraj:** Dominion home rule; a term used in India. It was first employed in a political sense by Dadabhai Naoriji as President of the Indian National Congress in 1906. In 1920 it was adopted by the Congress as one of its aims. Later it came to denote the extreme party within the Congress. Ultimately Swaraj came to represent complete independence.

**Swaziland:** see African Protectorates.

**Sweden:** see Scandinavia.

**Sykes-Picot Treaty:** A secret agreement made on 16 May 1916 between Sir Mark Sykes on behalf of the British Foreign Office and Mons. Georges Picot of that of the French, to which the Russian Government later acceded, whereby a large part of the Ottoman territory was divided between the two Powers. By this agreement Britain and France agreed to recognize and uphold an independent Arab state or confederation of states, provided that in one part of it Britain should have special rights and in the other France similar rights. In short, France acquired directly or indirectly the whole of Syria, the Lebanon, the Mosul Vilayet, and Cilicia in Asia Minor. Britain's share was to have been the remainder of the present kingdom of Iraq, the Haifa-Acre district of Palestine, and the present state of Transjordan. The remainder of Palestine was to be under an international régime in agreement with Russia and the other allies and the representatives of the Sherif of Mecca. Both Britain and France undertook not to cede any of their rights to a third Power except the 'Arab State' to be formed, and Britain undertook not to cede Cyprus to any third Power without the consent of the French Government. Moreover,

Britain and France agreed to abstain from acquiring and to withhold their consent from the acquisition by a third Power of any territory in the Arabian peninsula or of a naval base in the islands on the east of the Red Sea. Russia was to have received compensation elsewhere in the Ottoman dominions. Italy, on learning of the treaty, was granted the Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne (q.v.) as compensation. Neither treaty, however, was ever made effective.

**Syndicalism:** Originally only Trade Unionism, the term has come to mean that form of socialist doctrine that arose out of the experience of the French trade unions or *syndicats*. Syndicalism in practice since the World War of 1914 has become merged in Communism (q.v.). In the various theories of Socialism it is the one that is derived direct from the working classes. Believing in the immorality of the wage system and of capitalism, the syndicalist accepts the wage war as a cardinal principle. So far syndicalism and socialism are largely identical, but at this point they part company. The socialist demands control of production by the consumers acting through appropriate organs: the syndicalist wishes to organize the state and civilization on the basis of the control of every industry by the workers in that industry. It will be seen that syndicalism is to some extent akin to Guild socialism (q.v.). Syndicalism has always had considerable influence in French socialism and trade unionism. In the United States of America it had for some time power in the I.W.W. or Industrial Workers of the World. In Britain syndicalism has had little influence. It has also appeared in other parts of the English-speaking world, and Fascism has exploited the idea.

**Syria:** Syria came into existence as a state as a consequence of the Great War and of the Treaty of Lausanne (q.v.). Previously it had formed part of the Ottoman Empire. The mandate under which Syria is governed did not become effective until 29 September 1923. The delay was due to difficulties raised by Italy. It had been approved by the Council of the League of Nations more than a year previously (20 July 1922), and had been allotted by the principal Allied and Associated Powers to France still earlier, in April 1920.

The inhabitants of Syria had, whenever they were given an opportunity, consistently expressed their dislike for French control, but despite President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which were supposed to govern the Peace Settlement, and the joint Anglo-French Proclamation to the Arab peoples of 7 November 1918 that the object of the Allied Powers in prosecuting the war in the East was 'the establishment of National Governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations' and 'far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to secure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of Governments and administrations freely chosen by the populations themselves', their objections were brushed aside. Even the arrangement to which the French agreed, that the population of the Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo districts should be given a modified form of independence under their own ruler, was not adhered to. The Amir Feisal, the Commander of the Arab armies in the revolt against Turkey, was made king, but his people and his followers were thoroughly dissatisfied with this settlement. Feisal, however, used his great influence to hold them under control. Nevertheless he was driven out of the country by the French within a few months, and before the end of 1920 the whole of Syria was in effect under French rule.

Almost the first act of the French was to divide their mandated territory into several states. The former *sanjaq* of the Lebanon, with additions almost doubling its size, became the state of the Greater Lebanon. The other states consisted of Latakia, whose inhabitants were for the most part Alawites, the *sanjaq* of Alexandretta where there was a large Turkish element in the population, the Jebel Druze, the home of the Druzes, and the states of Damascus and Aleppo. To this distribution the minorities were not altogether averse, but the Arabs of Damascus and Aleppo were consistently opposed. In the arrangement of these several states there were frequent changes. At times they were federated; at others they were independent of one another, but the close

control of the French over the government of all of them was never relaxed.

This tutelage was never accepted by any of the Syrian peoples, and there were several revolts against it. The most serious was that of 1925, which began in the Jebel Druze and engaged a considerable French army. After the suppression of the revolt a constituent assembly was convened to draw up a new constitution, but this led to a deadlock and the French imposed in 1930 their own constitution. In 1932 a constitutional government, nominated by the French, was installed, and in the following year (November 16) a Treaty of Alliance and Friendship with France, based to some extent on the similar treaty between Britain and Iraq, but falling short of it in several respects, was signed at Beirut. Under this treaty Syria was to acquire independence at the end of four years. The Syrian Chamber refused to ratify this treaty, mainly because it perpetuated the separation of Latakia and Jebel Druze and the French withdrew the treaty. The disappointment among the Syrians was intense, and all parties having joined together in a National Bloc, on 18 January 1936 complete independence was formally demanded. The Bloc at the same time proclaimed the identity of Syrian with other Arab interests elsewhere by demanding the cancellation of the Balfour Declaration in Palestine and co-operation with the nationalist movements in other Arab countries. The French replied by proscribing the National Bloc and arresting some of its leaders. Strikes and other manifestations broke out all over the country, and martial law was proclaimed.

But the determination of the Syrians had its effect on the French. A Syrian delegation was invited to Paris and a new treaty was signed there on 9 September 1936. This treaty granted full independence to Syria, and France undertook to support the application of Syria for admission to the League of Nations. The relationship between the two Powers of an alliance was to be perpetual and France was to enjoy certain military rights on Syrian territory for a number of years. Jebel Druze and Latakia were to be included within the Syrian Republic, but were to be given 'a special form of

administration' in accordance with the views of the League of Nations. The treaty followed generally the lines of the British ones with Iraq and Egypt. The treaty was to come into force by the end of the year 1939, but certain steps were taken in anticipation. General elections were held and a President and Ministry appointed from the National Bloc in accordance with the wishes of the electors. Jebel Druze and Latakia were reincorporated in the Syrian state and as a step towards closer relations with the other Arab states a treaty of *Bon Voisinage* with Iraq was signed. The Syrian Nationalist leaders who had been in exile for ten years were permitted to return. On the other hand, however, Hatay (q.v.) was definitely severed from Syria.

Difficulties and hindrances arose, the principal of which was the fall of the Blum Government of the Left in France. The obvious disinclination of the new Government in France to carry out the undertakings of its predecessor led the Syrian Parliament to reiterate its approval of the proposed treaty, but this was without effect. The situation then deteriorated, and it seemed that a new rebellion was imminent. A political crisis accompanied by disorders in the chief towns supervened. The constitution was suspended; Syria was once again split into half a dozen fragments. As in the case of Palestine, the neighbouring states showed unequivocally their sympathy with Syrian aspirations.

This was the state of affairs when war broke out in 1939. The Syrian movement was at once suspended and all sections of the population came forward in support of France; the Syrians even followed the French in their surrender to Germany. But the situation was an unhappy one for the Syrians also, and, when in May 1941, as a consequence of the obvious intention of the Germans to utilize Syrian aerodromes and possibly to station troops in the country, the British occupied Syria, there was a general feeling of relief on the part of the inhabitants of all classes and communities.

An early step of the British and the 'Free' French after they had obtained possession of the country was to announce that their policy was to transfer it to the control of its

inhabitants as soon as it was practicable to do so, so that they might assume 'their independent sovereign rights', and the French High Commissioner went so far as to proclaim the independence and sovereignty of the Syrian Republic. In the meanwhile a Syrian Government in sympathy with the aspirations of the people was appointed.

At the same time the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Eden, made it clear that if the Arab states, including Syria, desired to form some sort of federation, Britain was prepared to help towards the realization of such a project so far as it was able to do so.

The French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers, however, showed a certain diffidence in proceeding along the lines laid down. Its policy, it seemed clear, was to defer any action until the conclusion of hostilities, when the decision could be left to the French people acting through their parliament when it found time to attend to the matter. Matters were, however, brought to a head at the end of 1943, when events in the Lebanon (q.v.) compelled the intervention of the British and the grant of the Lebanese demand for the fulfilment of the promise of independence. The French Committee of National Liberation was forced to give way, and with the settlement of the Lebanese problem that of Syria was also, it was thought, brought to an end. Syrian independence, modified by the presence of British and French armies as a necessity of the state of war, was to be effective from 1 January 1944.

The difficulties were, however, not yet resolved. The French still hesitated to grant in full the requirements of the Syrians. Their view was that before the independence of Syria was made effective a treaty satisfactory to France must be negotiated. The Syrians held the view that the grant of absolute independence must precede the negotiation of any treaty. Circumstances in the Lebanon with whose Government that of Syria was in close touch were exactly similar and outside of the Levant States the active support of the other Arab states strengthened the attitude of both of these Powers. Relations between France and the two states of the Levant grew rapidly worse. A factor that helped in this



direction was the landing of French reinforcements when the question of the withdrawal of all French troops was supposed to be under consideration. It was not long before hostilities broke out. The French bombarded Damascus: the Syrians attacked French troops and civilians wherever they were to be found. Britain as a party to the promise of independence to the Levant States, and also on account of the importance to the interests of the Allies of tranquillity in the Middle East, found herself compelled, with the approval of the United States, to intervene. If she had delayed it seemed certain that at least Egypt and Iraq would have done so and no one knew how far the conflagration might spread. The British, in fact, took charge of the situation. The French troops were confined to barracks and gradually withdrawn into the Lebanon. The British Government at the same time proposed a conference of Britain, the United States, and France to consider the situation. By now the French were grievously offended and took no pains to conceal their feeling. The proposed conference was refused unless representatives of Russia and China were included and all the problems of the Middle East were considered by it. To this Britain was averse and in consequence no conference was held and no formal action taken, except that France had in the meanwhile in effect evacuated Syria and was preparing apparently to withdraw also from the Lebanon. As a concession to France, Britain announced that her forces would be withdrawn from Syria and the Lebanon at the same time. In a debate in the French National Assembly that body showed itself less rigid than its Government, and as a gesture the Government announced the almost immediate transfer to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments of the *troupes speciales* recruited locally, but as a part of the French forces, and by agreement, on 13 December, both the French and British troops were withdrawn from Syria and the Lebanon. Both Syria and the Lebanon were admitted as sovereign independent states to the San Francisco Conference.

**Tacna-Arica Question:** Under the Treaty of Ancon of 1883 which terminated the four years' war between Chile

and Peru, it was laid down that the Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica should be held by Chile for ten years, at the end of which period a plebiscite to decide their definite disposal should be held. The plebiscite was, however, not held. Chile remained in occupation of the provinces and relations between the two Governments remained strained. In 1922 the Government of the U.S.A. intervened. It made various proposals for a settlement to which one or other or both parties to the dispute objected. At length, on 28 August 1929, a compromise settlement was accepted. By this the Tacna province and a small area on the Bay of Arica were restored to Peru and Arica remained a part of Chile, who undertook to pay to Peru a sum of six million dollars in full settlement of all claims.

**Tanganyika:** Territory in East Africa, administered under a mandate by Great Britain. Until 1918 it was a German colony, but was ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers by the Treaty of Versailles. There has been a movement for closer relations with the neighbouring British colony of Kenya and the British Protectorate of Uganda, and this has resulted in joint postal and railway systems. Of a population in 1939 of 5,251,000, only 7,925 were Europeans.

The principal exports of Tanganyika are sisal, gold, cotton, coffee, hides, and grain. Diamonds are also produced. The principal port is Dar-es-Salaam.

**Tangier:** One of the principal ports and, facing Gibraltar, one of the gates of the Mediterranean, Tangier was at one period British territory. It was part of the dowry that Charles II received in 1662 on his marriage with Catharine of Braganza, but after twelve years, impatient of the expense its retention involved and the nuisance of attacks from the surrounding tribes, England surrendered it to the Moors. Under the Moors Tangier was the seat of the representatives of the foreign Powers, and from 1680 onwards capitulatory rights were granted to those Powers—France, Spain, and Great Britain. Gradually control was gained by them over the municipal, health, and similar services. Under the Anglo-French Declaration of 1904 it was laid down that Tangier

was not to be fortified. A secret convention of the following year provided for the control of public security by the French and Spanish jointly, but with a French head of the Police Force. •

By the Statute of Tangier of 1923 the European Powers, apart from Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia, shared the legislative control of Tangier. The original signatories were Britain, France, and Spain; the others adhered at intervals, Italy not until 1928, the U.S.A. not at all. Under this Convention the Tangier Zone was to be permanently neutralized except that troops might pass to and fro between it and the neighbouring French and Spanish Zones. A native police force of 250 under a Belgian officer was to be at the disposal of the Administrator. Native administration was to be entrusted to a nominee of the Sultan of Morocco, the *Mendoub*. A legislative assembly, over which the *Mendoub* presided, was to be nominated by the representatives of the Powers, together with six local Moslems and three Jews, to be nominated by the *Mendoub*. A Committee of Control comprised of the Consuls of the acceding Powers had the right to veto the decisions of the Legislative Assembly. The principal administrators, appointed by the Sultan on the nomination of the Committee of Control, must be subjects of the controlling Powers. Judicial matters in which foreigners were concerned were decided by a mixed European court. This constitution was a compromise between the desire of the French and Spanish Governments to include Tangier in their respective spheres, and the British desire to retain its international status. By the compromise France secured advantages over Spain which the latter, from the day of the settlement, consistently endeavoured to reverse. The interests of Tangier and its inhabitants were ignored by all the Powers equally.

On 14 June 1940, immediately after the entry of Italy into the war, Spain, taking advantage of the absorption of the other Protecting Powers in the war, seized military control of the Tangier Zone. The Spanish Government announced that this occupation was only temporary and had been taken to secure the neutrality of the Zone. However,

other encroachments quickly followed, and on 31 December 1942 Tangier was formally incorporated in the Spanish Protectorate, the other Governments, including that of the United States of America, which as a party to the Algeiras Conference of 1906 still considered Tangier a part of the independent state of Morocco, protesting. On 27 February 1941 an agreement had, however, been reached between the British and Spanish Governments whereby 'without prejudice to the rights of the British Government and to those of third parties under the relevant international instruments' Britain recognized Spain's special interests in the Zone and British rights and institutions were guaranteed. At the same time the continued demilitarization of the Zone was declared. Other acts of aggression, however, followed. The *Mendoub*, the representative of the Sultan, and indirectly of France, was expelled in March, and the office, so far as Tangier was concerned, abolished. His headquarters, formerly the German Consulate, was handed over to a German representative. The Sultan, supported by the French Government, protested against these further encroachments, but the protest was ignored. In January 1942 the Tangier Zone was incorporated in Spanish Morocco.

On the conclusion of the war in Europe the British, French, and United States Governments decided to take up the question of Tangier and to regulate the position. A preliminary conference of representatives of these states was convened in June 1945, but before it could open it was suspended by the demand of the Soviet Government for participation. This was, after a brief interval, granted, but Spain then protested against her exclusion. Spain's protest was ignored and the four Powers, on 1 September 1945, decided on a provisional régime in which Spain was to participate, but at the same time ordered Spain to withdraw her troops from the zone. It was further decided to hold a conference of the Powers signatory to the Algeiras Conference at the end of six months, but the admittance of Spain to this conference was to be dependent on her restoration of a 'democratic régime'. Spain at once withdrew her troops: the new control committee took charge: and on 11 October the

*Mendoub* returned in state to Tangier as the representative of Moroccan sovereignty.

Spanish is the principal language spoken. Two-thirds of the European population of 30,000 are Spaniards. They own fifty per cent of the banks and sixty per cent of the industrial property.

**Tehran Declaration, The:** Made on 1 December 1943 by President Roosevelt, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, shortly after the joint Moscow Declarations (q.v.) of the three Foreign Ministers. The Tehran Declaration reiterated the determination of the North American, British, and Russian nations to co-operate in the war and in the period of peace that will follow it, to make the peace an enduring one and commanding the goodwill 'of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world' so as to banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations. In furtherance of these objects, 'we shall seek the co-operation and the active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into a world family of democratic nations.'

**Teschen:** A town and district in the south-east corner of Silesia, formerly a duchy which was contested between the kings of Poland and Bohemia for centuries. In the seventeenth century it passed under the Habsburgs and on the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 both Poland and Czechoslovakia claimed it. The solution took the form of a partition between the two claimants. In 1938, when the break-up of Czechoslovakia commenced, Poland demanded the cession of the remainder of the Teschen district to which Czechoslovakia had perforce to consent. With the collapse of Germany in 1945 Teschen became again an object of dispute between Czechoslovakia and Poland. The district was first occupied by Russian troops who handed the Polish portion over to the Poles, who somewhat ostentatiously began to advertise alleged Czech atrocities against the Polish inhabitants of that which remained with Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia on her part emphasized her claim

to the whole of the region which she had held until the Munich Agreement (q.v.). The Teschen district is rich in both coke and gas coal, and is an important centre for communications. The population is more than three-quarters Polish, the Germans coming next with 20 per cent. Its area is 852 square miles.

**Thailand**, otherwise Siam: Thailand is an independent kingdom in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Its neighbours are Burma, China, French Indo-China, and British Malaya. Its area in 1940 was 200,148 square miles, and its population about 15,717,000. The first European nation to establish intercourse with Thailand was the Portuguese, in 1511. They were followed by the Dutch. English traders came early in the seventeenth century, and by the first quarter of the nineteenth British interests were paramount. A trade treaty with Britain, signed in 1855, was followed by similar treaties with the U.S.A. and other European Powers. The advance of France in French Indo-China led to border disputes with Thailand which culminated in war in 1893. Thailand was defeated and had to cede a large extent of territory. Later, by the Anglo-French Convention of 1896, central Thailand was neutralized. There were subsequent exchanges of territory between Thailand and France. In 1909 Thailand ceded outlying districts with a population of about a million to Britain in return for the practical abolition of the special rights Britain had obtained in Thailand proper. Similar rights enjoyed by other Powers were abolished later. Japanese commercial intercourse with Thailand did not commence until the present century. Until 1932 Thailand was an absolute monarchy, but by a revolution on 24 June of that year a constitutional régime was substituted, all men and women of twenty years and upwards enjoying the franchise.

In November 1940 war broke out between French Indo-China and Thailand, the latter being anxious to recover the territory she had lost half a century earlier. After a short interval Japan offered mediation. This offer was accepted by both parties, after pressure had been brought to bear on the French. The Japanese decision was that part of the territory that had been lost by Thailand should be restored.

With the end of the war France, pleading that her consent had been forced from her, re-occupied the territory in dispute. Thailand protested and, obtaining no redress, appealed to the United Nations Organization. Henceforth Japanese influence in Thailand increased rapidly. Immediately on the outbreak of war between Japan and Britain, Japan invaded Thailand. There was a show of resistance, but within two days a military alliance had been concluded and Thailand was at war with Britain.

A treaty of peace with Britain, India, and the Dominions was signed at Singapore on 1 January 1946. The terms were very mild. Thailand was required to hand over a maximum of one and a half million tons of rice out of her surplus, for the feeding of the neighbouring populations and also to cede the Burmese and Malayan territory that had been given to her by her ally, Japan, in July 1943. She also undertook to collaborate in all international security arrangements that may be approved by the United Nations Organization, to restore trade with the neighbouring territories and to grant facilities for British air services.

The principal products of Thailand are rice, coco-nuts, and teak wood. Rubber is being developed. The minerals of Thailand include tin, wolfram, antimony, coal, copper, gold, iron, lead, manganese, zinc, and precious stones.

**Thrace:** Until 1912 the whole of Thrace was a part of Turkey. In that year it was invaded by the Bulgars, who conquered the greater part of it, but her allies, Servia and Greece, turning on her, she was deprived of a part of her conquests in the following year. Eastern Thrace reverted to Turkey, but Bulgaria retained much of the remainder, including the much-desired outlet to the Aegean Sea. Bulgaria was one of the defeated Powers in the World War of 1914, and at its end she was deprived of her share of Thrace, including the outlet to the sea, all of which went to Greece. The Greek share also included the greater part of Eastern Thrace, but the Turks soon ejected the newcomers. The result is that Thrace is now shared by Greece and Turkey. After the occupation of Greece by the Central Powers in 1941 Greek Thrace was administered by Bulgaria.

**Three Power Pact, The:** see Tripartite Pact.

**Tibet:** A large region, nominally a part of the Chinese Empire, lying in central Asia between India and Siberia. Almost completely closed to all foreigners, very little is known of it, the population, for instance, being variously estimated at from 700,000 to 6 millions. The administration in so far as it is a theocracy with the Dalai Llama at its head is in the hands of the Tibetans. An army of less than 5,000 and a few officials are provided by China. One-fifth of the population is said to consist of lamas or monks.

**Timor:** A Portuguese colony consisting of the eastern portion of the island of that name in the Malay Archipelago. The island was divided in 1860 between Portugal and Holland, and in 1896 Portuguese Timor, which had previously been administered as a part of the colony of Macao, became an independent province. Late in 1941, when war with Japan seemed imminent, Britain landed forces in Portuguese Timor to prevent its seizure. Nevertheless, shortly after the outbreak of war in December of that year, the whole of the island, Portuguese as well as Dutch, was occupied by the Japanese. The principal exports of Timor are coffee, sandalwood, copra, and wax.

**Tin:** The production of tin in 1939 was estimated at 178,000 tons. Of these, 82,900 came from British Malaya, 38,000 from the United Kingdom, 14,800 from Holland, 14,200 from the Netherland Indies, and 11,000 from China. In 1940 the output of manufactured tin from British Malaya had been increased to 130,000 tons.

**Tin Ore:** The production of tin ore in 1940 was estimated at 240,000 tons, of which 86,800 came from the Straits Settlements and the Malay States, 43,900 from the Netherland Indies, 38,500 from Bolivia, and 17,700 from Thailand. Since the Japanese conquests the output of tin in other parts of the world has been developed.

**Tobacco:** The production of tobacco in 1939-40 was estimated at 2,580,000 tons. Of this the U.S.A. produced 850,200 tons, India 495,800, Japan 82,000, Turkey 57,700, Greece 55,000, Canada 48,900, Italy 43,200, the Netherland Indies 41,600, Bulgaria 40,400, the Philippine Islands 33,700,



France 33,600, the Belgian Congo about 18,000, China 17,000, and Nigeria 14,000. In all these cases production is still extending and new sources are being developed in South Africa, Australia, and South America.

**Tonga Islands:** The Tonga group of over 150 islands, of which only thirty-six are inhabited, comprises the Kingdom of Tonga. The population numbers about 34,000. The group is also known as the Friendly Islands. The constitution of the kingdom is based on that of Great Britain, with a King (at present a Queen), a Cabinet, a Privy Council, and a Parliament. The religion of the islanders is Christian, most of them being Wesleyan Methodists. The Tonga Islands were proclaimed a British Protectorate in May 1900. The main products are fruit and copra.

**Togoland:** A colony in West Africa, which was surrendered by Germany under the Treaty of Versailles and divided between Britain and France, both parts being administered under mandate. The British share covers 13,041 square miles and has been attached to the Gold Coast colony. The French portion covers 21,893 square miles. French Togoland is rich in iron. It produces also palm oil, rubber, copra, coffee, cocoa, and cotton.

**Totalitarianism:** Constitution of a state in which only one political party is permitted, and that consisting only of supporters of a Dictator (e.g. Germany, Italy, Russia). In this system everything—material, mental, spiritual—is considered as belonging to, or owing complete allegiance to, the state, and individual liberty is permitted only after all the uncontrolled demands of the state (i.e. the dictatorship) have been satisfied.

**Transjordan:** Palestine, east of the Jordan and the Wadi Araba, and south of the river Yarmuk which flows into the Jordan a few miles south of Lake Tiberias. On the east it extends to the frontier of Iraq, although the whole of the territory beyond the Hejaz railway is desert. To the south Transjordan extends to the Gulf of Aqaba, where it has a coast-line of about 6 miles. Southern Transjordan is also for the most part desert. Transjordan, with a vast territory, mainly uninhabitable, has a population of 350,000 to 400,000,

almost all Moslem Arabs, more than half of them nomads or semi-nomads. Until the end of the Great War and the Treaty of Lausanne in 1922 it was a part of the Ottoman Empire. During the war it was included among the Arab lands whose liberation was promised to the Sherif of Mecca, afterwards King of the Hejaz, as part of the reward for the Arab revolt against Turkey. In one of the Secret Treaties between Britain and France, Transjordan was combined with Syria, east of the Lebanon, as a part of an Arab state, the northern part to be under French protection, Transjordan under British. It formed, for a few months, part of the Syrian Kingdom of Feisal, the son of the King of the Hejaz, but on his expulsion and the seizure of Syria by the French in 1920, Transjordan became a sort of no-man's-land vaguely under British control, but practically without any national administration. Early in 1921 Transjordan was invaded by Abdullah, a brother of Feisal, with the intention apparently of avenging the expulsion of his brother. He was induced by the British to advance no farther and was given the Amirate or principality of Transjordan, with the title of Amir. He made Amman his capital, set up an administration with British advisers, and agreed to accept the supervision of a British High Commissioner who was identical with the High Commissioner for Palestine. When in 1938 a proposal was put forward for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, it was intended to combine the Arab state of Palestine with Transjordan. The project of partition, was, however, abandoned. The mandate under the League of Nations for Palestine applies also, with the exception of those clauses that concern the Jewish National Home, to Transjordan. In January 1946 the British Foreign Secretary announced that Britain was about to take steps for establishing Transjordan as a sovereign independent state and on 25 May it was proclaimed a kingdom.

**Transylvania:** Transylvania was once a principality under an independent ruler. In the middle of the seventeenth century it passed under Turkish control, but remained there for but a few years. By 1691 it had come again under the Emperor and was made a part of Hungary, the Emperor

swearing to uphold its constitution. The Transylvanians did not, however, accept this settlement. Disorder and unsettlement reigned for a period of twenty years. The population had always been dominantly, in numbers, Wallachian or Rumanian, but the controlling element was Magyar. Before the end of the eighteenth century there were the beginnings of a Transylvanian nationalist movement or of a Rumanian nationalist movement in Transylvania. The Magyar National movement, while opposing, unintentionally encouraged this. In the revolution of 1848 the Transylvanians took up arms against the Hungarian rebels, but, although the rebellion was suppressed, they gained no advantage. For a moment, at the time of the Crimean War, there was a possibility of uniting the Rumanians of Moldavia and Wallachia with those of Transylvania, but this passed. As the kingdom of Rumania grew the movement for the incorporation in it of Transylvania expanded. At the conclusion of the World War of 1914, Transylvania was taken from Hungary and assigned to Rumania. Of the enlarged kingdom it was the most advanced portion in every respect, and for twenty years Rumanian and Transylvanian ran in uneasy harness. In Hungary there was a ceaseless movement for the restoration of the lost lands. In 1940 Germany, involved in war and anxious for Hungary's support, after an ineffectual attempt at persuasion, peremptorily ordered Rumania to grant Hungary's demands. As a consequence some 43,000 square kilometres with a population of 2,600,000, of whom over a million were of Rumanian race and about a million were Magyars, were ceded to Hungary. In the part of Transylvania that remained to Rumania more than half a million Magyars lived.

With the defeat of the German armies and the advance of the Russian the situation was quickly reversed. Rumania submitted to Russia in August 1944 and by the terms of the armistice of 13 September Transylvania reverted to Rumania. Hungary was in a similar position to that of Rumania—partly occupied by Russia and anxious to come to terms with that Power—and although very reluctant to withdraw from the historic Hungarian province, quite unable to avoid doing so.

Transylvania is a rich agricultural country, producing fruit and wine as well as cereals. Its coal-mines are very valuable.

See also Hungary.

**Treaty Ports:** Ports in China in which nationals of foreign Powers enjoy or enjoyed by treaty extraterritorial rights. See Extraterritoriality.

**Trianon, Treaty of:** Treaty of peace signed between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers on 4 June 1920 in the Trianon Palace, Versailles. By this treaty the dominions of the Hungarian crown were reduced by a half, her population falling to about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions, as compared with about 21 millions in 1914, of whom  $6\frac{1}{4}$  millions were Magyars. Over 3 million Magyars were separated from Hungary. Of these  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million went to Rumania, a million to Czechoslovakia, and half a million to Yugoslavia. At the same time Hungary was cut off completely from the sea. In other respects the articles of the treaty followed generally those of the Treaty of St. Germain (q.v.) with Austria. Hungary's army was, however, reduced to 35,000 men. The Government of Hungary protested very strongly against these terms, but was forced to accept them. The hope of canceling at least some of them was, however, kept alive and gradually to some extent realized. See Transylvania; Hungary.

**Trieste:** A city of Italy at the head of the Adriatic. Together with the surrounding district, Venezia Giulia, it was taken from Austro-Hungary, whose principal port it was, at the conclusion of the European War in 1918, and annexed to Italy. Under Austro-Hungary Trieste constituted an Imperial free city. It had passed into the possession of Austria in 1382. The population of the Municipality of Trieste numbered 248,379 in 1936. With the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of custom frontiers between the several successor states Trieste lost its hinterland and at the same time much of its prosperity.

Trieste and Venezia Giulia were among the territories claimed by Yugoslavia or by Marshal Tito, its ruler, on the surrender of Italy to the Allied Powers in 1944. The population of the city is overwhelmingly Italian, but that of the surrounding district has been Slav since the sixth century,

akin in people to those of Yugoslavia. It is impossible to separate one from the other, and the determination of the Italians to retain Trieste and its inhabitants, an essential part of *terra irredenta*, was as strong as that of the Yugoslavs to annex it. On the withdrawal of the Germans the forces of Marshal Tito and of Britain, which wished to preserve for the time being the *status quo*, entered Trieste almost simultaneously—the Yugoslavs a little in advance—from the east and the west respectively, and for a time there was extreme tension between them. Apart from the political one there was a military complication inasmuch as the principal line of supply for the Allied armies proceeding north ran through Trieste. The British and United States Governments showed themselves determined that there should be no annexation or even occupation of the region by the Yugoslavs in advance of the Peace settlement, and a joint Allied Military Government was thereupon installed in Trieste, the eastern and larger part of the district, regarding whose future there seems to be no question, being left in Yugoslav occupation.

The Italians were apparently reconciled to the cession of part of the disputed territory, hoping that the Wilson Line of a quarter of a century earlier, dividing the territory into two equal halves, would be accepted. The Yugoslavs, however, refused to modify their claims to the whole. The claims of the Yugoslavs were very strongly supported by the Russians and just as strongly opposed by the British and Americans. The dispute led at times to extreme tension. but, in the end at a conference of foreign ministers in Paris in July 1946, it was agreed that Trieste and the surrounding district should constitute a Free State under a governor to be appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations in consultation with Italy and Yugoslavia. The remainder of the province, apart from some small districts in the west, was allotted to Yugoslavia.

**Tripartite Monetary Agreement:** An agreement between the Governments of Britain, France, and the U.S.A., made in the autumn of 1936, to take all possible steps to secure the permanence of the exchange value of the currencies of

the three states. At the same time they put before themselves the freedom of international trade as a goal. The Swiss, Dutch, and Belgian Governments later adhered to this agreement. To fulfil the objects of the agreement was, however, found to be beyond the power of the states that had entered into it.

**Tripartite Pact, The:** An agreement signed by the Governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan at Berlin on 27 September 1940, and later acceded to by Hungary (20 November 1940), Rumania (23 November 1940), Slovakia (24 November 1940), Bulgaria (1 March 1941), and Croatia (15 June 1941). Yugoslavia signed the Pact on 25 March 1941, but its new Government refused to ratify it. The signatories to the Pact undertook to co-operate with one another 'in Greater East Asia and the regions of Europe respectively wherein it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned'. The leadership of Germany and Italy 'in the establishment of a new order in Europe' and of Japan, similarly, in 'Greater East Asia' was recognized, and the signatories undertook to assist one another by all means in their power in the event of any one of them being attacked by a Power not at the time at war. The Pact, however, did 'not in any way affect the political status which exists at present as between each of the three contracting parties and Soviet Russia'. On 19 January 1943 Germany, Italy, and Japan signed agreements on 'economic co-operation' which were described as supplementary to the Tripartite Pact.

**Tripolitania:** see Libya.

**Trotskyism:** School of Bolshevism, named after its foremost exponent, Leon Trotsky (1877-1940), which puts world revolution and the propagation of communism in other countries in the forefront, in contradistinction to the now more orthodox communism, that of Stalin, which concentrates on the socialist development in Russia.

**Trusteeship Council:** A Council of the United Nations set up at the San Francisco Conference (q.v.) to take the place of the Permanent Mandates Commission (q.v.) of the League

of Nations. A dispute arose at the Conference whether the purpose of the trusteeship should be the training of the dependent state until it is capable of self-government, as the United States and Great Britain wanted, or 'self-government and self-determination' as Russia desired. The form of words finally adopted was 'To promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement'. All five of the principal Powers as well as an undecided number of others were to be members of the Trusteeship Council which had the right to inspect territories in trust so long as the Administering Power did not consider that such inspection would be likely to give rise to political unsettlement.

The mandatory system made the 'open door' obligatory in the A and B territories. The trust system maintains this principle, but in terms which seem to make a departure from it possible if this is in the interests of the people of the territory. Secondly, the mandates prohibited the mandatory Powers from raising forces locally or constructing bases save for purpose of local defence. This restriction will not apply to the trust territories, which can now play their part in the scheme of general security.

The Trusteeship Council which will be an integral part of the United Nations Organization, will not only take over the functions of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It will also, it is presumed, reallocate the mandates previously held by Japan and entrust mandates over the Italian colonies and possibly other territories.) (It has also been suggested that all or some of the territories that have for long been held by the European Powers as colonies should be placed under the Council, but this view is by no means unanimous.

**Tungsten:** Tungsten is used chiefly in ferrous metallurgy. It is used also to a small extent in the chemical and the electrical industries. The total output of tungsten ore in

1938 was about 21,450 tons, of which 8,083 came from China, 8,529 from Burma, 1,687 from Portugal, 1,657 from the U.S.A., 1,518 from Bolivia, 738 from the Argentine, 673 from Australia, 673 from the Malay States, and 327 from French Indo-China.

**Tunisia:** A French protectorate in North Africa; it was given that status by a convention signed on 8 June 1883 after an invasion of the country by France two years previously. Before the French conquest the state was practically independent, although there was a very shadowy Turkish suzerainty. The change of status was quickly recognized by the British Government, which had come to a secret agreement with France on the subject. The other Powers, with the exception of Turkey and Italy, followed the British example. Turkey declined to do so on the ground that Tunisia was in some manner or other a part of the Ottoman dominions. In 1892, however, Turkey recognized the position by agreeing to a demarcation of the frontier between Tunisia and her own territory of Tripoli, but it was not until 1923 that she formally renounced her claims in the Treaty of Lausanne. Italy's interest in Tunisia dated back to 1862. In 1869 she was recognized as an equal partner with Britain and France in the attempt of that year to put the finances of Tunisia in order. From that year onwards her interests in the country increased, not the least of them being the large and growing Italian population. In 1896 Italy formally acknowledged the French protectorate, the right of Italians settled in Tunisia to retain their citizenship being safeguarded. The French Government, however, attempted to secure as French citizens persons born in Tunisia whose fathers had also been born there. Great Britain managed to contract out of this arrangement so far as Maltese, who with the Italians constituted the great majority of people of European race, apart from Frenchmen, born in Tunisia, were concerned, and in 1935 Italy and France signed a convention under which no person born in Tunisia of Italian parents before 28 March 1965 would be compelled to accept French citizenship. As time passed it became clear that Italy had never abandoned her designs on Tunisia. Her disinclination to surrender the



allegiance of men of Italian ancestry was strong and the difference with the French Government on the subject protracted. In 1938 incidents, provoked by Italians in close contact with their Government, arose, and the culmination came after France had been involved in war with Germany, when cries in the Italian Chamber for Tunis, Corsica, and Nice, obviously engineered by the Italian Government, showed the direction in which Italian policy was turning. In 1945, after her surrender, Italy agreed to the abrogation of the Conventions of 1896 that granted a privileged status to Italians settled in Tunisia. Relations between France and Italy were resumed, but the details of a complete settlement were left over. The population in 1936 included 213,205 Europeans, of whom 108,068, exclusive of members of the army and navy, were French, 94,289 Italians, and 7,279 Maltese. The port of Bizerta is one of the most valuable naval stations on the Mediterranean. Tunisia is for the most part an agricultural country. Its principal exports are wheat, barley, wine, olive oil, and dates. The extent of Tunisia is about 29,600 square miles.

**Turkey, The New:** The year 1909 was that of the 'Young Turk' Revolution. The Committee of Union and Progress, formed by a small number of young Turks who had studied at Western universities, after securing the support of most of the army staff officers, was strong enough to depose the Sultan and to compel his successor to put into effect the constitution of 1876. The Young Turks first approached France and Britain, but received little encouragement there. They then turned to Germany, where they were welcomed and by whose side they ultimately fought in the World War. One result of the Young Turk Revolution and the fear it roused of the possible rehabilitation of Turkey was an armed attack by Italy which had long coveted Turkish North Africa (Libya). Simultaneously Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which she had been in occupation since the Treaty of Berlin, and Bulgaria declared her full independence. Still more threatening was the joint attack on Turkey in 1912 of the Balkan Powers (Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro), all hungry for more territory. Against such a

combination of enemies Turkey could not succeed, but when the Balkan Powers quarrelled among themselves about the division of the plunder, Turkey recovered a little of it. The outbreak of war in 1914 gave Turkey the opportunity—so she thought—of avenging herself on her enemies. In the event, however, she was again defeated and the Treaty of Sèvres (q.v.), which she was forced to accept, would have deprived her not only of the remainder of her non-Turkish empire, but also of wide regions that were inhabited mainly by Turks.

From this fate Turkey was relieved in part by the quarrels between Italy and Greece, both of which claimed the same share of Asia Minor. In the end neither got any, although a large Greek army, protected by British, French, and United States warships, was landed there. It was heavily defeated. The Treaty of Sèvres had aroused the patriotism of a new party, the Nationalist, at whose head was Mustafa Kemal (later Kemal Ataturk), and it was he who was at the head of the Turkish forces that drove the Greeks into the sea. Kemal dated his war of independence from 19 May 1919, although the fighting did not commence until later. Practically without resources, military or other, he defeated the invaders and occupied the whole of Asia Minor as far as the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. He called together representatives of the people and fortified himself with their support. He transferred the centre of government from Istanbul and Europe to Anatolia. By the National Pact (November 1919) it was laid down that Anatolia (Asia Minor) should be kept intact, but that otherwise the New Turkey had no desire to include lands inhabited by other peoples such as the Arabs. The rights of minorities, remaining within the Turkish state, were to be guaranteed. Istanbul was to be secure, but the Straits were to be open to the commerce of all nations. Under Turkish pressure, both the French and the Italians withdrew from Asia Minor.

While relations with the Allied Powers remained strained, and sometimes worse than strained, those with Soviet Russia, which was also in a state of latent war with the Allies, became cordial. In fact Turkey and Russia made an agreement

(October 1919) to co-operate against the White Russian forces. The reply of the Allies was a British occupation of Istanbul, and thereby they still further strengthened the Nationalists. Greece, having been abandoned by Britain and France, was driven out of Anatolia on 6 September 1922, much of the Greek population of Smyrna, which had lived there from the dawn of history, accompanying them. At the same time the victorious Turkish armies reached the Bosphorus, on the opposite shore of which an Allied force was standing. The French and Italian detachments were at once withdrawn and the British then remained alone. For six weeks war between Turkey and Britain hung by a thread, until by the Mudanya Convention (11 October) the tension was relaxed. By this agreement Eastern Thrace and Adrianople were at once restored to Turkey: Istanbul remained in British occupation pending a further agreement. This further agreement was made in the Treaty of Lausanne (q.v.), which took the place of the unratified Treaty of Sèvres.

The history of Turkey during the subsequent twenty years was one of internal consolidation and development and externally of diplomatic success. The Greek Question was finally liquidated by the exchange of populations in accordance with which a million and a quarter Greeks, descendants for the most part of ancestors who had long been settled there already at the opening of the Christian era, were uprooted and removed to Greece. Relations with Russia remained for a long period cordial. Those with the other Powers were friendly. Differences over Iraq and Syria had been removed, in the latter case by the cession of the Hatay (q.v.). By the Saadabad Pact (q.v.) Turkey was linked with the neighbouring Moslem Powers. Admitted early to the League of Nations, in 1934 she was given a seat on its Council. By the Montreux Convention of 1936 (q.v.) her wishes with regard to the Straits were accepted. At the same time the hated Capitulations (q.v.) were abolished. Finally, in 1939, Treaties of Alliance were signed with Britain and France (see Anglo-Turkish Alliance), despite which Turkey managed to avoid war and to keep on friendly terms with Germany until the military situation became hopeless.

Turkey, having declared war on Germany at the last moment, was enabled to take part as an ally in the San Francisco Conference (q.v.) of April to June 1945. However, relations with Russia had gradually become less cordial. The Turkish-Soviet treaty of 1925 was denounced by Russia in March 1945. After a brief interval Russia approached Turkey with a suggestion for the negotiation of a new treaty more in accordance with Russia's wishes which had developed as a consequence of the change in the international situation and the rapid increase in her strength. The Russian requirements were not formally, or at any rate publicly, stated, but rumours that they included a revision of the Montreux Convention (q.v.), the allocation to Russia of naval and air bases in the region of the Straits and the retrocession to Russia of parts of Asia Minor that had been Turkish until 1878 and had been ceded by Russia in 1921 were apparently well founded.

A little later the Russian claims were even increased, although not for the time being officially. Through the mouthpiece of two Georgian professors of history a demand was made for the cession of a district running over a hundred miles along the north coast of the Black Sea, including the important port of Trebizond. The population of the whole region to which claims have been made is entirely Moslem by religion and almost entirely Turkish in race.

The system of government is that of a republic with all power, executive and legislative, vesting in the Grand National Assembly (the Kamutay). The executive power is, however, delegated to the President of the Republic and his Council of Ministers. All men and women may exercise the franchise, but only one party in the state is permitted. The government system is one of state socialism. The area of Turkey is 294,416 square miles, exclusive of the Hatay (q.v.). The total population in 1940 was 17,858,000. Turkey is very rich in raw materials, but they are for the most part undeveloped. However, Turkey produced 8,531 tons of copper and 3,020,000 tons of coal in 1940, and the annual output of manganese is 800 tons. The output of lignite has risen from 4,610 tons in 1925 to 219,575 tons in 1940, and chrome

from 7,506 tons to 182,827. The chrome-mines are, however, stated to be nearing exhaustion. The principal exports are leaf tobacco, hazel-nuts, dried raisins, mohair, wool, chrome, cotton, figs, and barley.

**Twelve Points, President Truman's:** a declaration of foreign policy made by President Truman in New York on 28 October 1945, which he summarized in the twelve following paragraphs:

1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other State, large or small. We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nation.

2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

4. We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice without interference from any foreign source. This is true in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

5. In co-operative action with our war allies we shall help the defeated enemy States to establish peaceful democratic Governments of their own free choice, and we shall try to attain a world in which Nazism, Fascism, and military aggression cannot exist.

6. We shall refuse to recognize any Government imposed on any nation by force of any foreign Power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent the forceful imposition of such Government, but the United States will not recognize any such Government.

7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

8. We believe that all States which are accepted in the society of nations should have access to the trade and raw materials of the world.

9. We believe that the sovereign States of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the hemisphere, must work together as good neighbours in the solution of their common problems.

10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential for the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between the nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to ensure peace.

It will be seen that this statement of policy follows largely and incorporates the terms of the Atlantic Charter (q.v.). It goes further, however, in No. 7 in extending the paragraph relating to the Freedom of the Seas (q.v) to cover 'rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country'. Mr. Truman, also in the course of his speech, elaborated No. 1, 'We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage', by explaining, 'We do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world. *Outside of the right to establish the necessary bases for our own protection, we look for nothing which belongs to any other Power.*' See also Fourteen Points, The; Seas, Freedom of the; West Indies, American Naval stations in.

**Tyrol, The:** A province, now divided between Austria and Italy, covering an area of 4,882 square miles and lying on both sides of the Alps. From 1368 until 1918 the Tyrol was a part of the Austrian dominions, its inhabitants being practically without exception, except in the part known as the Trentino, German-speaking and Austrian in sympathy. Within the Empire the Tyrolese always preserved a considerable measure of freedom. Andreas Hofer, the Tyrolese leader in the war against Napoleon, is one of the accepted heroes of history. The district is of great strategic importance, containing the Brenner Pass (q.v.), the entrance into Italy from Central and Northern Europe. It is for this reason

that from the revival of Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century, Italian eyes were turned in that direction. The opportunity came with the outbreak of war in 1914. Italy as an ally of Austria should have supported that combatant. She did not do so, but instead put herself up to auction between the two sides. Austria offered the Italian-speaking Trentino, whose population is almost entirely of Italian race, to Italy. Italy demanded also the Tyrol as far north as the Brenner Pass, over 97 per cent of whose population is solidly German. This Austria refused: the Allies, despite the promise to consult in the Peace Settlement the wishes of the populations concerned, promptly agreed to grant the coveted district to Italy as soon as it was at their disposal, and Italy took up arms on the side of Britain and France. Italy undertook to treat the ceded German population generously, but instead oppressed them ruthlessly. They did not, however, surrender their German character, and when Italy and Germany, after the seizure of Austria, became closely allied, it was decided to transfer to Germany the part of the population that stubbornly refused to accept Italianization. Eighty per cent of the inhabitants of the Italian Tyrol accepted this expatriation rather than submit to Italian rule, although the expatriation does not appear to have been fully carried out. The more pliant 20 per cent, disliking German Nazism more than Italian Fascism, did not, however, escape a similar fate. It was decided to deport them to other parts of Italy. The Southern Tyrol Question was thus, it was thought, solved.

After the end of the Second World War the Austrian Government, as soon as one with any semblance of independence was constituted, at once put forward a claim for the restitution of the lost Tyrol, but only of the German-speaking portion, that known during the Italian period as Alto Adige, not the Italian-speaking Trentino. In this they were supported by every native-born resident in the region. Nevertheless, Italy was permitted to retain the Southern Tyrol.

**Ukraine, The:** A Socialist Soviet Republic in South-east Europe, a state of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Its population in 1933 numbered about 32 millions, a fifth of the total population of the U.S.S.R. Eighty per cent of the population is Ukrainian and 9 per cent Russian. The principal towns are Kiev, Kharkov (the capital), Odessa (the chief port), Dnepropetrovsk, Stalingrad, and Nicholaiev. The Ukrainians are very closely related to the neighbouring peoples of Eastern Galicia, the Bukowina, and Ruthenia. The Ukraine is very rich in agricultural products and in minerals. Four-fifths of the population is dependent on agriculture. The principal mineral products are salt, anthracite coal, iron, and manganese. Until 1667 the Ukraine formed a self-governing part of the Polish-Lithuanian Empire. Between that year and 1793 the Ukraine was gradually absorbed by Russia. The Ukrainian Nationalist movement began, at first as a cultural movement, in the middle of the nineteenth century. After the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 an independent Ukrainian state was brought into being and was recognized by Germany, which supported it against the Bolshevik Government of Russia. After the collapse of Germany a short period of chaos ensued in the Ukraine. War with Poland over the Polish Ukraine or Eastern Galicia followed, but was unsuccessful. The Russian Bolsheviks thereupon conquered the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Republic then continued as a Soviet republic under Russian influence until it joined the Union in 1924 as the Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic.

On the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia in 1941 the whole of the Ukraine was quickly overrun. It was, however, gradually recovered with the help of Ukrainian guerrillas behind the German lines, after suffering widespread destruction by the Russians. When the Germans realized that they were unable to hold this rich region, in August 1943, they offered the Ukrainians complete freedom and independence. In view of their experiences, however, the Ukrainians naturally ignored the offer.

The intention of the rulers of the Union of Soviet Republics appears to be to incorporate in the Soviet Ukraine not only the Ukrainian districts of Poland east of the Curzon Line (q.v.), and Ruthenia (q.v.), but also the Bukowina,



Bessarabia, formerly parts of Rumania, and possibly parts of Volhynia, formerly in Poland. In the last-mentioned province, and also to some extent in Galicia, a non-Soviet Nationalist Ukraine movement whose partisans have fought Germans, Poles, and Soviet partisans equally has arisen. The Ukraine was first recognized as an independent Power by its representation at the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

**Union with Britain Now:** A movement championed by Mr. Clarence Streit, who had previously actively urged the Federal Union Movement (q.v.) in 1941, for an immediate political union between the U.S.A. and Great Britain. Although it aroused a certain amount of interest on both sides of the Atlantic, the active support that it gained was negligible.

**United Nations, The:** The Allies in the War of 1939 against Germany and Italy. They consisted of Czechoslovakia (occupied by Germany 15 March 1939), Poland (invaded 1 September 1939), Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, India (declared war 3 September 1939), South Africa (6 September 1939), Canada (10 September 1939), Norway (invaded 9 April 1940), Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxemburg (invaded 10 May 1940), France (France declared war in September 1939, but agreed to an armistice in May 1940; on 14 June 1940 the Free French, later the Fighting French (q.v.) declared their adhesion to the Allied cause, and on 1 January 1945 signed the United Nations Declaration (see San Francisco Conference), Greece (attacked 28 October 1940), Yugoslavia (attacked 16 April 1941), U.S.S.R. (attacked 22 June 1941), United States and China (attacked 8 December 1941; China had, however, been attacked by Japan five years earlier), Cuba, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Costa Rica (11 December 1941), Honduras, Salvador, and Haiti (12 December 1941), Panama (12 January 1942), Mexico (22 May 1942), Brazil (22 August 1942), Ethiopia (9 October 1942), Iraq (16 January 1943), Bolivia (7 April 1943), Persia (9 September 1943), Colombia (28 November 1943), Bolivia (5 December 1943), Liberia (26 January 1944). On the eve of the defeat of Germany in February 1945, Ecuador, Paraguay, Chili, Peru, Salvador,

Turkey, Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, and Persia all declared war on Germany and Japan and thereby joined the United Nations. Russia also secured three votes by the acceptance of the Soviet Republics of the Ukraine and White Russia as Allies and sovereign independent states. The Argentine declared war later. Italy, which submitted in September 1943, declared war on Germany and was recognized by the United Nations as a 'co-belligerent' in October 1943, and Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland followed her example a year later. Ethiopia had been seized by Italy five years earlier and declared war on recovering her independence.

On 1 January 1942 the United Nations made a joint declaration to the effect that they would employ their full resources in the war against the signatories to the Tripartite Pact (q.v.) and that they would not make a separate armistice or peace with the enemy.

See also San Francisco Conference; Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

**United States of America and Treaty of Versailles:** see Versailles, Treaty of.

**United States of Europe:** see Federal Union.

**U.N.R.R.A.:** The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, set up in Washington in November 1943. Its purpose is to bring relief and rehabilitation to the countries overrun by the Nazis and Fascists as soon as they are released from their thralldom. Forty-four states are associated in the work, although the control rests in effect with the Governments of Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and China. Its funds are derived from a levy of one per cent of the national incomes of the contributing countries whose home territory has not been invaded. By the end of 1944 a total contribution by the co-operating states of £456,000,000 had been authorized, but even this enormous sum was found to be insufficient, and a year later it had amounted to £903,000,000 contributed or promised by 47 states. A conservative estimate gave 500 millions as the number of individuals who required assistance.

Originally it was intended to limit relief and rehabilitation to the subjects or population of the countries overrun by the

Germans and their allies. At the second session of the U.N.R.R.A. Council at Montreal, in the autumn of 1944, it was, however, decided to extend the benefits to other innocent sufferers, for instance the Jews of Germany and Austria, the inhabitants of the Dodecanese Islands, technically Italian subjects, and even sections of the population of Italy. The French, Polish, Russian, and other nationals who had been deported to Germany for labour were also aided.

The organization met with many difficulties, apart from those inherent in its task, when it commenced to operate. It found itself everywhere dependent on the wishes of the military authorities, which are as a rule sceptical of civilian aid and always prefer not to be hampered by civilian activities. Some of the western states, jealous of their newly recovered independence, seemed to prefer to rely on their inadequate resources rather than accept assistance from outside. Other difficulties arose in lands in which Soviet Russian influence is paramount.

**Uranium:** A chemical element, an essential for the production of atomic bombs, the extremely powerful instruments of destruction introduced in the final stages of the war between the United States and Britain on the one side and Japan on the other. Uranium is also used for colouring in the ceramic and glass industries and for strengthening steel and improving the usefulness of copper. It is a by-product of radium (q.v.). Commercially, however, uranium is little used, in consequence of its very high cost. The main sources of uranium are pitchblende which is found in Bohemia, Hungary, Cornwall, the Belgian Congo, Australia, South Africa, and above all in Canada, and carnotite, found in the United States. There are also believed to be deposits of pitchblende in Russia. The production of uranium salts in Canada in 1938 was 800,000 lb., and in the United States 51,705 lb. Uranium 235, used in the production of the atomic bomb forms only a very minute proportion of uranium salts—as little it is said as .1 per cent.

**U.S.S.R.:** see Soviet Republics, Union of.

**Ustaci, The:** The party of Croatian Fascists who, under Pavelitch and subject to the overriding veto of Germany

and Italy, governed Croatia after its conquest in 1941 by Germany.

**Val d'Aosta:** A small region in the extreme north-west of Italy, close to the French frontier. Being in the borderland of France and Italy it partakes of the characteristics and culture of both. Under the Fascist régime the French tendencies were, however, ruthlessly suppressed. After the collapse of Italy France sent troops into the region and a pro-French campaign among the population was immediately commenced by French agents, industrial as well as political. The new Italian authorities, however, showed themselves quite willing to grant the local population a measure of administrative autonomy and to cancel the restrictions on their hereditary customs. Some measure of economic autonomy was also granted, and whatever real desire there had been for a closer connexion with France speedily passed away.

**Vanadium:** Vanadium is a metal used principally in ferrous metallurgy. It is an alloying element especially with steel. To a small extent it is used also in the chemical industry. The total production in 1939 was 3,184 tons, of which 1,237 came from Peru, 900 from the U.S.A., 515 from South-West Africa, 384 from Northern Rhodesia, and 148 from Mexico. The figures for Peru and the United States have since been considerably increased. A discovery of vanadium in Ceylon in 1942 gave promise of an output greater than the present world output.

**Van Zeeland Report:** A report made, at the request of the British and French Governments in 1937, by M. Paul Van Zeeland, a former Prime Minister of Belgium, on the possibility of overcoming the obstacles in the way of international trade. After a visit to the U.S.A. he reported early in the following year. His recommendations were: (a) loans by creditor to debtor countries, (b) the adjustment of external debts so that currency restrictions and other similar shackles could be loosened, (c) an agreement between Great Britain, France, and the U.S.A. to limit closely all currency variations, (d) an undertaking not to raise import tariffs and to reduce those that were exceptionally high, (e) the abolition on the restrictions on the export of raw

materials, (f) inclusion of the Most-Favoured Nation clause (q.v.) as far as possible in all commercial agreements, and (g) the co-operation of Great Britain, France, the U.S.A., Germany, and Italy, in the study of economic grievances.

The Report was received sympathetically by the British Government but in view of the pressure of other international matters no action was taken on it.

**Vatican City, The:** Over a very long period that ended in 1871 the Pope was the ruler of a temporal kingdom in Central Italy. In that year the States of the Church were forcibly annexed by the Kingdom of Italy, the Pope and his successors being guaranteed the use of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and a yearly income. This income was never claimed, the Pope refusing to recognize the legality of the annexation or of the settlement. In 1929, however, the 'Roman Question' was at length settled between the Pope and the Fascist Government of Italy. On 11 February of that year three agreements were signed. The one recognized the full and independent sovereignty of the Pope in 'the City of the Vatican'. A second regulated the condition of religion and of the Church in Italy. The third provided for a large cash payment to the Vatican Government in settlement of all claims. The Pope thereby became the ruler of a sovereign independent state, but of less than 109 acres, with a population of just over a thousand.

**Venezia Giulia:** See Trieste.

**Versailles, Treaty of:** Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers, signed at Versailles on 28 June 1919, by which the World War of 1914 to 1918 was brought to an end. Of the signatory Powers the United States of America and the Hejaz refused to ratify the Treaty. The German representatives signed it only under protest, in effect under duress. The Covenant of the League of Nations (q.v.) was incorporated in the Treaty. The severity of the terms of the Treaty was so great as to render it to a large extent unworkable.

Under the Treaty. Alsace-Lorraine, the three small districts of Moremet, Eupen, and Malmédy (q.v.) on the Belgian frontier, Schleswig-Holstein, the greater part of

East Prussia, and the whole of Prussian Poland including Danzig (q.v.) and Memel (q.v.) were detached from Germany. Alsace-Lorraine (q.v.) went to France, the districts on the Belgian border, after the pretence of a plebiscite, to Belgium, Schleswig-Holstein (q.v.), divided into two parts. In the east the greater part of the detached territory was allotted without hesitation to Poland, but in Upper Silesia (q.v.), a division was made. Two other plebiscites—in Allenstein and Marienwerder respectively—went in favour of Germany. In order to give Poland a sea-front a corridor was cut through German territory separating the remnant of East Prussia from the remainder of Germany. Danzig, whose population was overwhelmingly German, was created a free state under the direction of the League of Nations. Memel was similarly detached, but before a decision had been taken regarding its future it was seized by Lithuania. All German territory west of the Rhine was 'demilitarized for ever' and placed in Allied occupation for fifteen years as a guarantee of the fulfilment by Germany of the terms of the Treaty. The Saar district (q.v.) was to be occupied by France for fifteen years at the end of which period a plebiscite was to be held. Germany undertook to respect the independence of Austria and Czechoslovakia. The century-old neutrality of Belgium was ended and she was set free to contract alliances. She promptly did so by entering into a military alliance with France. Luxemburg (q.v.) also ceased to be a neutralized state and exchanged Germany for Belgium in an economic union. Heligoland was also to have been demilitarized. Before the outbreak of war in 1939 Germany had, by one-sided action, recovered Danzig and Memel. She recovered the Saar district by plebiscite and annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia by force. She also ignored the Treaty by stationing a large army in the Rhineland, after the Allied armies had been withdrawn.

Outside Europe, Germany ceded all of her colonies to the Allied and Associated Powers and these were shared under a system of mandates, the most important of them among the great Powers, a few crumbs for some of the smaller ones. At the same time Germany lost all her property—including that of her nationals—powers and rights in foreign countries.

Her army was to be limited in future to a permanent long-service one of 100,000 men with appropriate armaments. Her fleet had to be surrendered and all of her arms and munitions, above the maximum allowed, had to be similarly surrendered or destroyed. Her naval forces were ruthlessly limited, in particular the possession of vessels of above 10,000 tons and of submarines being prohibited. Germany was to be allowed no air forces whatever. There were to be no naval works or fortifications within fifty kilometres of the coast. The other Powers signatory to the Treaty at the same time undertook to reduce their armies and armaments in course of time to a level commensurate with that of Germany. In the event this undertaking was ignored by them. German naval officers sank their fleet rather than surrender it. Much military material was destroyed, but despite the terms of the Treaty it was not many years before Germany had again the most powerful army and air force in existence and a navy of considerable strength.

The Treaty provided for the trial by representatives of his enemies of the Emperor 'for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties', and also of some hundred other highly placed Germans for 'having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war'. There were a few such trials in Germany by Germans, but one of the accused, Field-Marshal Hindenburg, instead of being tried was elected President of the German Republic and as such was welcomed by the other Powers. The whole of this section of the Treaty was, in fact, still-born.

In accordance with the terms for an armistice offered by President Wilson before the conclusion of hostilities, no provision was made for an indemnity. Instead it was laid down that 'Reparations' (q.v.) should be paid. These were, it was said, to make good as far as was possible the loss and damage caused by the Germans to civilians, but when the pensions paid to the widows of soldiers killed in action and even to disabled soldiers, on the ground that as pensioners they were civilians, were included, it was realized that there was to be no practical difference between indemnity and reparations. The amount of reparations to be paid was not

laid down. It amounted in the first instance to the cost of repairing the damage that had been done, an amount that could not then be estimated, and, more important, on Germany's future capacity for payment which also could not be estimated at the time. There were, however, considerable immediate payments in kind—in ships, coal, cattle, etc. To assess the amount to be paid in the form of Reparations, a Reparations Commission was appointed. Totals were fixed from time to time on a diminishing scale. Payments were made by Germany, but only out of foreign loans. Since repayment of these loans was ultimately in default, it may be said that none of the Reparations fell on Germany. In fact the payments made by her fell short of the money she borrowed abroad in the years that followed the Treaty of Versailles and did not repay. The excessive demands under the head of Reparations and their result illustrated the virtue of moderation in claims for payments by foreign states. (See Reparations.)

There were many other clauses in the Treaty, which dealt with a variety of subjects, some of which are treated under other headings. One of them, to which the whole of the German people took the greatest exception, recited that the whole responsibility for the war of 1914 to 1918 rested on Germany—the notorious 'war-guilt' clause.

**Vienna Award:** see Ruthenia.

Under a second Vienna Award of 30 August 1940, Rumania was forced by Germany and Italy to cede 17,370 square miles of Transylvania, a part of Hungary until 1918, to Hungary as a preliminary to the entry of Hungary and Rumania into the war on the side of Germany. When in August 1944 Rumania suddenly changed sides, one of the inducements to her to do so, offered by the Allied Powers, was the restoration of this territory.

**Viet-Minh:** a coalition of a number of Annamese independence movements which sprang into prominence on the termination of the Japanese occupation of French Indo-China (q.v.), in 1945. Its object was the independence of Annam, Cochin China, and Tonking, but the movement was later limited to Annam and Tonking. In March 1946



the French Government recognized the Republic of Viet-Nam, consisting of these two provinces, within the Indo-Chinese Federation.

**Vilna:** Vilna is a city in Lithuania (q.v.), its normal capital. The district has been inhabited by Lithuanians since before the tenth century and the city has been their principal town at least since 1128. In 1656 the Russians took possession of the district: from 1702 to 1788 it was a Swedish possession: in 1795 it was reannexed by Russia. On the break-up of Russia in 1918, Lithuania became a sovereign independent state and included, with the approval of the principal Allied Powers, Vilna among its territories. Disputes and jealousies between Poland and Lithuania at once developed. Germany, Poland, and Russia, were all successively in occupation of Vilna and by the last-named the city and district were transferred to Lithuania. Poland subsequently, by an act of force, seized the disputed district and, although the Powers and the League of Nations protested, Poland, which had the covert support of France, ignored the protest. In 1923 the Powers recognized the *status quo*, despite the protests of Lithuania. Poland remained in possession until Germany and Russia, for the moment allies, partitioned Poland between themselves at the end of 1939. Vilna fell to the share of Russia who presented the district to Lithuania, but only for a short time. Within a few more months Russia had absorbed the whole of Lithuania and with it the Vilna district.

**Vorarlberg:** The most westerly province of Austria, with an area of 1,005 square miles and a population of 157,388 (1934). Cattle-rearing and the manufacture of textiles are the principal industries. Economically Vorarlberg is very close to the neighbouring Switzerland and when a new Austrian state had to be set up in 1919, after the collapse of the Austrian Empire, the people of Vorarlberg expressed their wish to be united with Switzerland. The Powers assembled at the Peace Conference, however, refused to agree to this proposal, even though a plebiscite showed a majority in favour of 45,466 votes against 11,029.

**Wafd, The:** see Egypt.

**Walloons:** One of the two races that now compose the people of Belgium. They live, for the most part, in southern Belgium and are also to be found in the neighbouring departments of France. They are akin to the French and speak that language. In these respects they differ from their fellow-Belgians, the Flemish, with whom there have sometimes been differences, the latter pressing for cultural if not political autonomy.

**War Debts:** see Debts, Inter-Allied: Reparations.

**Washington Conference:** A conference of the Powers (U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, Holland, and Portugal) held at Washington in November 1921 to consider the limitation or reduction of naval armaments and the attitude to be adopted in regard to the question of China. (For the naval decisions, see Naval Disarmament.) On the subject of China the Powers declared their intention to respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity of China, to provide full opportunity for China to develop a stable government, their desire to maintain the principle of equal economic opportunity for all nations, their intention to abolish all foreign post offices in China, and to agree in principle to the withdrawal of all foreign troops. There were other decisions in favour of China. Simultaneously a treaty was made between China and Japan providing for the evacuation by Japan of the Chinese territory from which she had expelled the Germans during the World War. Norway later adhered to the Chinese Treaty (the Nine Power Treaty).

See also China.

**Washington Convention:** see International Labour Conferences.

**Washington Naval Treaty:** see Naval Disarmament.

**Washington, Pact of:** A joint declaration signed at Washington on 1 January 1942 by the twenty-six states at war with the Axis Powers, pledging the employment of their full resources, military and economic, against the enemy and binding themselves not to make a separate armistice or peace. The other Allied Powers subsequently adhered to the Declaration.

**Wei-Hai-Wei:** A port consisting of a small island and coastal strip in Shantung, China, with a population of 5,800. It was leased by Britain from China in 1898 as a counterpoise to Russia's acquisition of Port Arthur in that year, and in addition Britain accepted responsibility for the defence of the adjoining district which remained under Chinese administration. In 1922, at the Washington Conference (q.v.), Britain undertook to restore Wei-hai-Wei to the Chinese, but did not do so until 1930 on account of the disturbed state of its environment.

**West Indies, American Naval Stations in:** An agreement was made on 2 September 1940 between the British and United States Governments whereby the former Government undertook to lease to the latter for a period of ninety-nine years air and naval bases with facilities of access in Newfoundland, British Guiana, and the West Indian islands of the Bermudas, Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Antigua. In return the United States Government transferred to the British Government fifty obsolescent torpedo-boat destroyers. A movement, with influential support, soon arose in the United States, for the annexation of these bases.

See also Twelve Points, President Truman's; American Naval and Air Bases.

**Westminster, Statute of:** An Act of the Imperial Parliament of 1931 which gave effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 to give definiteness to the relationship between Great Britain and the British dominions, which had been defined in 1926 in the Balfour Declaration (q.v.) as 'autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations'. This status led direct to the separate diplomatic representation of the Dominions to foreign governments and the accrediting by those governments of their representatives to the Governments of the Dominions. Similarly the Dominions are represented in London and the British Government in the Dominion

capitals. This status enabled the Government of Eire to remain neutral throughout the war between Britain and the Central Powers of 1939 and for Irish diplomatic representation in Rome and Berlin and German and Italian in Dublin to continue throughout that war. It was only not possible for a fresh appointment of a minister for Eire to be made to Rome or Berlin since this required the formal act of the King of Great Britain and of Eire. The Statute formally abolished the powers, long since passed into desuetude, of the Imperial Parliament to disallow or reserve bills passed by the Dominion parliaments and to legislate in Dominion concerns. Briefly the position created by the Statute of Westminster is that it assured to the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations full self-government, free of those 'reserved powers' which more often than not turn self-government into a pretence. Full self-government entails the right to secede from any international organization and therefore from the Empire.

**Wheat:** The available figures of wheat production do not include those of China, Persia, and Iraq. There are also no figures of the production by natives in eastern and southern Africa. For the remainder of the world the total production in 1938 was 1,651,400,000 quintals (6,066,739,020 bushels). The principal producers in that year were U.S.S.R. (542,200,000 quintals), U.S.A. (253,572,000), British India (109,367,000), Argentine (103,187,000), France (101,500,000), Canada (97,980,000), Italy (81,838,000), Germany (55,781,000), Rumania (48,214,000), Turkey (42,788,000), Australia (42,285,000). The United Kingdom produced 19,962,000 quintals. China is believed to have produced about 174,200,000 quintals in the same year.

**Wheat Convention, The:** A convention between the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., Argentina, Australia, and Canada, signed in July 1942. It gave a promise of relief to the hungry peoples of the lands occupied by Germany as soon as it was possible to help them and a plan for the controlled production and distribution of wheat in future. The five Governments decided to establish immediately a relief pool of 100 million bushels of wheat to be available for the

first needs. The long-term programme included the setting-up of a Wheat Council which, after the war, would prescribe maximum and minimum export prices for wheat and flour and the exporting countries would control their production. Both the producer and the consumer should thereby be protected.

**White Army:** The Russian armies of royalists and other opponents of the Bolshevik régime which, with the active or passive support of the principal Allied Powers, fought unsuccessfully against the Government of Soviet Russia after the Revolution of 1918.

**White Plan:** see Clearing Unions, International.

**White Russia:** One of the constituent states of the Federation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, bounded by Russia proper, the Ukraine and Poland. For long, White Russia, whose inhabitants and language are closely akin to those of Great Russia, was under Lithuanian or Polish rule. The acquisition of White Russia by Great Russia began towards the end of the fifteenth century and was completed in 1793, although in the intervening three centuries it, or parts of it, passed from Poland to Russia and back again several times. On the break-up of the Russian Empire in 1918 an independent White Russian Republic was proclaimed, but as the region was then in the occupation of German troops the proclamation was somewhat academic. The Peace Treaty between Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine of 1922 left part of White Russia under Polish rule, but when Poland was partitioned between Germany and Russia in 1939 this part of White Russia went to the latter state and was retained after the expulsion of the Germans. White Russia's independence was acknowledged by her separate representation at the San Francisco Conference. White Russia has suffered very severely from war devastation and has never been able to recover from one before another war overtook it.

**Wood Pulp:** The world production of wood pulp in 1937 was estimated at 24,260,000 tons, of which 5,963,000 came from the U.S.A., 4,665,000 from Canada, 3,524,000 from Sweden, 2,564,000 from Germany, 2,181,000 from Finland, and 1,097,000 from Norway.

**Wool:** The world production of sheep's wool in 1938 was estimated at 1,800,000 tons. Of this 446,200 tons came from Australia, 207,700 from the U.S.A., 178,700 from the Argentine, 148,600 from New Zealand, 137,400 from the U.S.S.R., 119,700 from the Union of South Africa, and 55,000 from China.

**Yalta Conference:** A conference between President Roosevelt, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, held at Yalta in the Crimea in February 1945. Apart from an agreement on the military plans for the immediate future, the three heads of Powers decided that those Powers, together with France, would occupy separate regions of Germany after victory had been attained, a joint commission sitting in Berlin to see that the administrative policies pursued by their instruments of government were in agreement. The Conference also agreed on joint action in the countries liberated from the German and Italian yokes and, so far as Poland was concerned, decided that the Provisional Government there should be reorganized on a wider basis with the inclusion of Polish democratic leaders both at the time in Poland and abroad. Finally it was agreed that permanent machinery of consultation should be set up and an early conference of the United Nations called at San Francisco (q.v.) to prepare the charter of an international organization to maintain peace. It was not disclosed until later that at this conference the Union of Soviet Republics (q.v.) should have three representatives as compared with one for every other state represented, on the ground that the Union is not, like the United States of America, one state, but more like the British Commonwealth, a group of closely allied states. This claim for only three representatives was a compromise of the original demand of one representative for each of the sixteen constituents of the Union.

Unfortunately other decisions were taken that led to formal rather than fundamental agreement and considerable differences in interpretation, especially of that regarding Poland (q.v.) developed.

In February 1946 it transpired that there was another secret clause in the Yalta Agreement, by which Russia, in

return for an undertaking to declare war against Japan within three months of the approaching armistice with Germany, was to receive accessions of territory and other advantages at the expense of Japan, and indirectly of China. The Kurile Islands (q.v.) and Southern Sakhalin (q.v.), both Japanese territory, were to be ceded outright. Of former Chinese territory, in Outer Mongolia (q.v.), which had some years previously passed under Russian influence, the *status quo* was to be preserved. Russia was to acquire a lease over Port Arthur; Dairen, the terminus of the South Manchurian Railway was to be internationalized, and the Chinese Eastern and the South Manchurian Railways operated by a joint Soviet-Chinese company, 'it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria'. The decisions regarding Chinese territory and interests were subject to the concurrence of the Head of the Government of China, which seems to have been obtained although later the Chinese Government disclaimed acceptance.

**Yellow Peril, The:** see Japan.

**Yemen, The:** A kingdom in Southern Arabia lying between the dominions of the King of Saudi-Arabia and the Aden Protectorate. It covers some 75,000 square miles and has a population of about three and a half millions. The territory was formerly a part of the Ottoman Empire, although Turkish rule there was somewhat shadowy. Relations between the Yemen and Great Britain are governed by the Treaty of Sanaa of 11 February 1934, in which treaty Great Britain recognized the Iman Yahya as an independent king. Previously they had not been too friendly. The boundary with Saudi-Arabia in the north was drawn in the Treaty of Taif of June 1934, which terminated a period of unfriendliness, at times of warfare, between the two states. This treaty ended a war in which the Yemen was utterly defeated by the Saud of Saudi-Arabia. It is one of close alliance and of mutual support in the event of war. It is described as a 'Treaty of Islamic Friendship and Arab Fraternity' designed to promote 'the unity of the Arab nation, to enhance its position and maintain its dignity and

independence'. The territorial terms were remarkably moderate. They left the Yemenite territory intact.

Throughout the Fascist period, Italy showed an excessive interest in the Yemen. A treaty between the two states was signed on 1 June 1927, following one of 2 September of the previous year. Under this treaty Italy recognized the independence of the kingdom of the Yemen and undertook to supply its King with arms and munitions and with whatever 'expert' officials he might require. The King of the Yemen, on his part, undertook to give preference in economic enterprises in his country to Italian citizens. A further treaty, signed on 4 September 1937, confirmed these relations and was to last twenty-five years. At the same time Britain and Italy, by another treaty, mutually guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Yemen and undertook not to obtain a privileged position of a political character in its territory. At the same time they recorded their agreement that no other power should acquire a similar privileged position there.

The exports of the Yemen consist of coffee and hides.

**Young Plan, The:** see Reparations.

**Yugoslavia:** A constitutional monarchy in the Balkans, consisting of a union (in 1918) of Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the Kingdom of Serbia which had, in 1878, secured its independence of the Ottoman Empire and had in subsequent years added to its territories at the expense of that Empire. At the same time the Kingdom of Montenegro was also incorporated in the new kingdom. From 1918 to 1929 the enlarged Southern Slav kingdom was known as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Croats and the Serbs, with different traditions behind them and different civilizations, found it difficult to live together and there were many differences and disputes between them. At length, on 26 August 1939, an agreement whereby Croatia was given a considerable autonomy within the Yugoslavian state, was reached.

There are no reliable statistics of the proportion of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the kingdom, but of a total population of 13,984,088 (1931), 6,185,501 were members of the



Orthodox Church and 1,561,166 Moslems, in both cases for the most part Serbians, 5,217,910 were Catholics of Croatia and Slovenia. In addition there were 499,326 Germans, 468,185 Magyars, and 68,853 Rumanians.

Since the murder in France of King Alexander in 1934 the country was ruled by a regency in the name of a child-king. This Regency joined the Tripartite Pact (q.v.) at Vienna on 25 March 1941. This step was so contrary to the wishes of the people that there was a spontaneous revolt against it. The boy-king, Peter, who was within a few months of eighteen, assumed the crown, dismissed the Regents and a new cabinet was appointed. The reply of Germany was an invasion of Yugoslavia which soon resulted in the occupation of the whole of the country. The King and cabinet, however, escaped and set up their centre in London. In the meanwhile two anti-German guerrilla movements came into existence in Yugoslavia. The one consisted of the army of Chetniks, largely composed of Yugoslavian troops left behind when the government left the continent. These took to the mountains and were organized by Colonel Mihailovich, who remained in touch with his own government and later, while remaining at the head of its forces, became its Minister of War. The other was the Partisans, guerrilla forces under the leadership of General, later Marshal Tito. Between these two forces there was from the first opposition, at times hostility. This opposition had its roots in the old Serb-Croat antagonism and showed itself in more determined hostility to the Germans on the part of the Chetniks and to the Italians on that of the Partisans. There were at times armed clashes between the two patriot forces. The Partisans were throughout in close connexion with the Government of the Union of Soviet Republics and were in consequence widely dubbed 'Communist', and even Terrorist. The Partisans, more active than the Chetniks, gained many successes and, as these increased, secured the support of the British, who sent a liaison officer to them and supplied them with munitions. The Russians had done so practically from their first appearance. In December 1943 Tito was recognized by the Allied Powers as a 'full Allied commander'. Before this, on

30 November, the Partisans felt themselves strong enough to appoint a National Committee of Liberation, in effect a provisional government. This was representative of all races—even the Italian minority in the liberated territories was granted autonomy and sent a deputy to the National Liberation Committee—and was under the presidency of Ivan Ribar, who had been President of the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly in 1920. Tito's army was similarly recruited from all sections of the population; even Italians, the Moslems, and the few Jews of Yugoslavia sending their quotas. At the same time the movement covered a wide political range—from the Communists to the Slovenian Catholic Party. The policy of the National Committee, apart from driving the invaders from the soil of their country, was (a) the creation of a federal Yugoslavia where all the nationalities would be equal and would enjoy their national rights, and within their state borders would organize their lives as they deemed fit, (b) the creation of a truly democratic Yugoslavia.

Negotiations with the King and the Government in exile led to no result and the first action of the Committee of Liberation was to denounce the Government in exile as not a legal government and to forbid the entry of King Peter into Yugoslavia. Ultimately, however, in November 1944, a *rapprochement* between the King and his Government and the National Committee was effected and a new government of two Serbs, two Slovenes, and two Croats was formed, with Marshal Tito in command of their forces in the field. The question of the monarchy was by agreement left in abeyance.

Marshal Tito was strong in the support of Russia with whom he made a formal treaty on 11 April 1945. This treaty, which is to last at the least for twenty years, provides that the two Powers shall help each other to the utmost on the path towards victory, and should Germany once again embark on aggression, either directly or through an associate, against either country, that the other should come immediately to its aid. Co-operation in the international field and the strengthening of economic and cultural relations are envisaged. Marshal Tito's internal policy, although framed

by the Communist Party, was remarkably moderate. It reflected a general desire for political freedom and justice. Its foreign policy, apart from the subject of Macedonia, which has already been mentioned, strove for the incorporation in Yugoslavia of those districts of Italy and Austria—for the most part the remainder of Dalmatia (q.v.), Istria, the Venezia Giulia (q.v.), and Carinthia (q.v.)—in which a Slav population predominates.

The uneasy compromise, however, lasted but a few months, and by July the King and Marshal Tito were denouncing one another in public in unmeasured terms. At the end of November the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, which had in the meanwhile been elected, proclaimed a 'Federative People's Republic', which was at once recognized by the U.S.S.R., and less than a month later by the British and United States Governments.

See also Croatia; Slovenia; Macedonia; Trieste.

**Zanzibar:** An island off Tanganyika on the east coast of Africa. Together with Pemba and a few other small islands, it forms a British protectorate under a sultan, but the government is administered by a British Resident. There are Executive and Legislative Councils. In the sixteenth century the Arab population appealed to the Imams of Muscat to drive out the Portuguese and from that time until 1832, when the Imam of Muscat transferred his capital to Zanzibar, the island was an appanage of Muscat. In 1856 Zanzibar became independent, but in 1890 British interests in the two islands were recognized as paramount by France and Germany. Zanzibar and Pemba then became a British protectorate. The area of Zanzibar island is 640 square miles and of Pemba 380. The population (1989) was a quarter of a million. The principal products of Zanzibar are copra and cloves. Zanzibar is one of the principal ports of call on the east coast of Africa.

**Zinc:** The total production of zinc in 1989 was 1,680,000 tons. Of this, 460,200 were produced in the U.S.A., 212,800 in Germany, 177,200 in Belgium, 159,400 in Canada, 90,000 in the U.S.S.R., 72,400 in Australia, 60,800 in France, 55,000 in Japan, 50,400 in the United Kingdom, and 45,900 in Norway.

**Zinc Ore:** The total amount of zinc ore mined in 1938 was 1,877,000 tons. Of these, 468,700 were produced in the U.S.A., 228,300 in Australia, 220,000 in Germany and Austria, 178,000 in Canada, 172,200 in Mexico, 88,000 in Italy, 80,000 in the U.S.S.R., and 70,000 in Poland.

**Zinovieff Letter, The:** A letter purporting to have been written by Gregory Zinovieff, the head of the Third International (see Comintern) in Moscow, to the Communist Party in Great Britain, instructing British subjects 'to work for the violent overthrow of existing institutions' and 'for the subversion of His Majesty's Forces'. It was published within a few days of the General Election of 1924, for the purpose of harming the Labour Government whose foreign policy included a *rapprochement* with Russia. The publication helped materially in the defeat of the Government at the elections. The letter was at once repudiated by the Russian Government as a forgery: this it is now generally admitted to have been. Another consequence of the publication was a worsening of the relations between Britain and Soviet Russia which, always frigid, had begun to improve.

**Zionism:** Zionism is the movement for the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. It goes back to the destruction of the Jewish state and the dispersion of the Jews in Biblical times and is enshrined in the Jewish prayer-book. It was the inspiration of the many pseudo-Messianic movements that arose during the past two thousand years, but until a couple of generations ago it was solely a religious movement, one dependent on a miracle. The outbreak of persecution of the Jews in Russia and Rumania in 1881 led to a Jewish exodus from those countries. To a very slight extent this turned in the direction of Palestine and an agricultural settlement began there. In Europe it was encouraged by a newly founded organization, the *Choveve Zion*, or Lovers of Zion, who began to think of the recreation of Palestine, which had then a small and backward population, by Jewish effort and by Jewish immigration. Fifteen years later the Dreyfus Affair in France directed the attention of an almost wholly de-Judaized Austrian Jewish journalist, Theodor Herzl, to the Jewish Question. To him it suddenly appeared

that the mass of Jews, especially those in Eastern lands, did not consist of adherents to a common faith so much as members of a common people. To him the solution of the Jewish Question appeared to be the creation of a Jewish state of which all Jews who settled in it would be citizens. At first Palestine did not in particular appeal to him. But when he came into contact with the Jewish students and older intellectuals of Central and Eastern Europe he found that of all countries, Palestine had the strongest appeal. If his project of a Jewish state were to succeed he realized he must attach it to the idea of Zionism.

Herzl's Zionism was entirely political. Messianism had no appeal for him. Even Judaism appealed to him only in so far as he considered it a means to his end. The policy of the *Choveve Zion*, of the settlement of Jews in Palestine, with no guarantees, dependent only on the will of the Sultan or his officials, was distasteful. First in his mind must come political, if possible international, guarantees. After they were secured settlement and economic development would follow. For seven years Herzl worked unceasingly for this end. When he died, at the age of forty-four, in July 1909, he had failed apparently to advance any distance towards his object. But he had created an international Jewish organization which survived him, and years after his death secured not only a relatively large self-supporting Jewish population in Palestine, but the active support of the British Government, which had in the meanwhile accepted responsibility for the administration of the country and the creation of conditions that might ultimately develop into a Jewish state. The culmination of the efforts of the Zionists, under the lead of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, an Anglo-Russian chemist, and Nahum Sokolow, a Hebrew man of letters, was the mandate for Palestine, as approved by the League of Nations, and the Balfour Declaration (q.v.) which is enshrined in it.

Zionists fall roughly into two parties, in both of which there are many divisions. The Political Zionists are anxious for the creation of a self-governing independent state in Palestine, with at the very least, the great majority of the citizens Jews by nationality. They wish to make the term

Jew a national rather than a religious one, and the trappings of national sovereignty are of far more consequence to them than the kernel of Judaism that the Jewish people has enshrined and protected during two thousand years of dispersion. To these Zionists Herzl is a prophet. The other principal party in Zionism is that of the Spiritual Zionists, who think of Asher Ginzberg (Ahad Ha'Am), a Russo-Jewish philosopher, as their prophet. To them the kernel is of far more importance than the shell. They are Zionists in so far as they are anxious for the preservation of the spirit of Judaism, of the Jewish civilization, its teachings and its practices. A centre for this Jewish civilization in Palestine they consider essential, and a population of Jews to tend it there. But to them the trappings of nationalism are of little consequence. To them Judaism is a way of life, not a nationalism. See also Palestine.

**Zollverein:** A customs union (q.v.).

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